SŪBA OF BIHAR UNDER THE MUGHALS (1582—1707)

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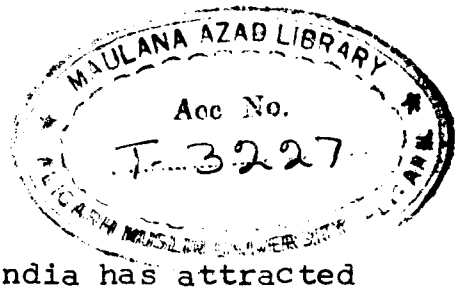

ABSTRACT

The regional history of Mughal India has attracted some attention in recent years. A systematic study of the different regions is of great importance in checking the generalizations that have so far been made about the Mughal Empire.

In the present study, an attempt has been made to explore and analyse the various aspects of the agrarian and economic history of the sūba of Bihar under the Mughals. The period of study commences shortly after the time when the Mughal Empire was reorganized into sūbas by Akbar (1580) and ends with the death of Aurangzeb in 1707.

The present thesis has twelve chapters and a number of appendices. Most of the appendices are given with the chapters related to. Two general appendices are given at the end.

The first chapter deals with the geography of the sūba. Bihar can be divided into two distinct geographical regions: the Indo-Gangetic Doab in the north and the Chotanagpur plateau in the south. The role of fertile tract in the north Bihar and the forest belt in the south has been

taken note of. Also the part played by the rivers and their seasonal inundation has been examined. The rich mineral wealth of the plateau region was as yet unexploited. The chapter has two maps showing per square mile revenue (1595) and population (1872).

In chapter II, the General Administration of the sūba has been discussed. Its study gives us an idea of the administrative frame work in which the economy worked. Apart from the general working of the sūba administration under the Mughals, emphasis has been given to its practical working in Bihar. The functions and jurisdiction of the faujdār as well the giladār have been dealt in some detail.

An attempt has been made to list the names of all the important officials who served in the sūba. The list of the subedārs is complete, but only a few names of other officials could be found, that is, the dīwān, the bakhshī, the faujdār and the giladār.

Agricultural production of the sūba has been discussed in chapter III, which has three sections. The first is devoted to the study of the extent of cultivation. An attempt has been made to find out relative extent of land under the plough in 1595 and its increase by the end of the 17th century. The second section deals with soils, and the

means and methods of cultivation and irrigation. In section three, agricultural produce (food and cash crops) and animal husbandry of the sūba have been discussed.

In the fourth chapter, a study of the main agricultural producing class, that is, peasantry has been made. All the classes who worked and drew their substenance from the land except superior right holders have been included in this study. Emphasis has been given to rights in the land and material conditions of the peasantry. One peculiar feature of the sūba noticed is the use of slaves for agricultural purposes, specially in the Mithila region.

The Chapter V, deals with the holders of superior rights in land, i.e. zamīndārs. The chapter has two sections (i) Zamīndārs and (ii) Chieftains. Aspects studied are: the origin of the zamīndār's rights in land; the nature of their caste composition; their non-agrarian perquisites; their armed strength; the manner of their succession and their relationship with the Mughal state. Two tables showing the manner of succession of the zamīndārs are also appended at the end of the chapter. The eighteenth century survey records of the English East India Company throw very valuable light on the rights and perquisites of the zamīndārs and, hence, they have been extensively used.

With regard to the chieftains, attempt has been made to identify their territories. Most of the chieftancies of Bihar were situated in the peripheral region amidst hilly and forest tract. From our study the Ujjaniya rājās of Bhojpur emerge as the most powerful Chieftains. In spite of the frequent rebellions by the Chiefs the Mughal emperors could never crush them completely and almost all their conflicts appear to have ended in some sort of compromise.

The Chapter VI covers the land revenue of the sūba. This chapter has three sections. The first deals with the mode of assessment and magnitude of the land revenue demand. It seems that zabt based on the dastūr rates was not introduced in Bihar.

In the second section of this chapter, the machinery of land revenue administration has been discussed. We find that the local officials, qānūngo, chaudhurī and muqaddam were actually the back bone of revenue administration. Attempt has been made to analyse the origin, rights and influence of these classes.

The next section deals with the revenue statistics of the sūba from 1595 to 1750. Here we have studied the pattern of the jama' (assessed revenue) distribution in the sūba, the increase in the jama' over a period of time, the

hāsil (actual realization) and the ratio of the hāsil to the jama'. Effort has been made to assign approximate dates to a number of revenue lists available in a variety of sources (dastūr-al 'amals, collection of papers and chronicles). Tables of sūba, sarkār and pargana-wise revenue figures are given at the end of the chapter.

The seventh chapter deals with revenue grants. These were given either in the form of land or cash to certain favoured sections of the population. The class of beneficiaries generally included, men of learning, and of noble birth, true seekers of knowledge, destitute persons, those entrusted with the maintenance of religious structures, and even the sanyāsīs and bhāts (the people who sang praises of aristocracy). In this chapter I have studied the distribution of these grants in the different parganas of the sūba. For the sarkār of Bihar the ratio of grants to the revenue in different parganas has been worked out. Non-muslims, too, were the recipients of grants in very large numbers especially in the sarkār of Shahabad and these appear to have continued in spite of Aurangzeb's orders to resume grants made to the Hindus.

In Chapter VIII, non-agricultural production of the sūba has been discussed. Textiles occupied the place of pride among the industries that thrived in Bihar. A variety

of cotton textiles such as Ambartees, Qāimkhānīs, Khāsa, Chārkhānī and chintz were produced in the sūba; silk cloth was also produced in large quantities. Apart from Patna the other main centres of textiles production were Lakhawar, Salimpur, Nandanpur and Baikanthpur. Carpet weaving was also done on a moderate scale.

Metal works specially iron industry also seems to have flourished. Among minerals saltpetre was the main item produced in Bihar. Diamond mining was on a moderate scale. The sūba was famous for stone works (ornaments and utensils of stone). Boats of good quality were also made. Pottery and glass works also attained a high degree of perfection in the sūba. The clay pottery made at Patna was taken to all parts of the world as a curiosity. The sarkār of Bihar produced paper of a very good quality. Lac and horn work were also of a moderately high quality. Indigenous hour-glass was also manufactured in Bihar.

All forms of production, from individual artisan level to the Kārkhānās, existed in Bihar during the 17th century. In the textile industry the penetration of merchant capital in the form of putting - out system was fairly established.

Chapters IX and X deal with trade and commerce, Patna was the main emporium where exchange of commodities from different regions of India and foreign countries took place. Other trading centres were Munger, Bhagalpur, Darbhanga, Hajipur and Dariapur etc. The commercial activities in the sūba may be divided in three parts, local, inter-regional and foreign trade. The Portuguese, followed by the English and Dutch were the main European traders. There were regular trade contacts with Nepal, Bhutan and Tibet. Khurasanis and Iraqis also flocked to the Patna markets in large numbers.

The main trading centre - Patna had developed land and river connections with all the parts of India. The presence of sarā'is on trade routes was a great help to merchants, carts driven by oxen and boats were the Chief mode of transport. Goods from Bihar were taken to Hugli for onward sea-transport.

Brokers and sarrāfs were in large numbers and they greatly facilitated trading activities. Bills of exchange (hundīs), amounting to lakhs of rupees, were issued to and received from different parts of the country. Rate of interest fluctuated according to the availability of the money in the market. Partnership and other commercial practices were at a fairly advanced level. The extent of commercial activities in and through Bihar may be gauged

from the number of coins issued from the Patna mint: the turnover was larger than that of all the mints of Bengal put together. Upto 1655, the production in Patna mint was the largest in the region.

In chapter XI, I have examined the policy of the Mughal Empire towards trade and commerce and its implementation by the administration officials of the sūba. It emerges from our study that though the policy of the Mughal emperors was to encourage mercantile activities, the rank and file of the Mughal administration constantly harassed the merchants. The main reason for administrative interference was the absence of any legal ban on private trade by the state officials. The chieftains also charged taxes on merchandise passing through their territories.

The last chapter deals with towns. A study of the available source material shows that the land-revenue system of the Mughals gave rise to certain degree of urbanization. We find that during this period the existing towns expanded and new ones sprang up in the sūba. The evidence at our disposal shows that it was mostly the sarkār headquarters that emerged as prominent towns of Bihar. Increase in the trading activities also gave an

impetus to urbanization. The reasons for the rise and decline of towns such as Daudnagar, Khurramabad, Shamshernagar and Baikanthpur have been analysed. The urban-rural relationship too has been studied. Information on existing monuments, inscriptions and archaeological remains has been used to prepare a list of towns in Bihar.

The appendix-A, at the end of the thesis, takes note of weight, measures, currency and prices prevalent in the sūba. It is very difficult to have an exact idea of the price movement but the available information suggests that the sūba saw a steep price hike in the first half of the 17th century, but it became more or less stationary in the second half. Finally all the available price figures for different commodities including food grains, textiles and metals have been put in a tabular form, and a comparision (wherever possible) with the Ā'īn's prices has been attempted.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Add. 6599	Dastūr-al ʿAmal-i ʿĀlamgīrī, Br. Mus. Add. 6599.
Āʾīn	Āʾīn-i Akbarī
Bodl	Bodleian Library, Oxford
BPP	Bengal Past and Present
Br. Mus. Add.	Additional Collections of the British Museum
Br. P.P.	British Parliamentary Papers, III
Dastūr-173	Dastūr-al ʿAmal, No. 173, K.B., Patna.
Dastūr-al ʿAmal	Dastur-al ʿAmal-i Ilm-i Navisindagī
Dastūr-2489	Dastūr-al ʿAmal, No.2489, K.B., Patna.
Dastūr-23	Dastūr-al ʿAmal, No. 23, Photo copy at K.B., Patna.
Dastūr-73	Dastūr-al ʿAmal,No. 73, Mohammad Amin University Collection, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh.
EF	The English Factories in India
EI	M. Martin, Eastern India
Frazer 86	Dastūr-al ʿAmal, annonymous, Frazer 86.
Haqīqat	Haqīqat-Hāi Hindustan, K.B., Patna.
Hunter	A Statistical Account of Bengal, 20 vols. Calcutta, 1875-78.
IA	Indian Antiquary
IESHR	The Indian Economic and Social History Review.
IHR	The Indian Historical Review.

IHRC	Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission
I.O.	India Office Library, London
Jagjiwan Dās	Jagjiwan Das, Muntakhab-ut Tawarīkh, Br. Mus. Add. 26253.
JASB	Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JBORS	Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
JBRS	Journal of Bihar Research Society
JITH	Journal of Indian Textile History
JUPHS	Journal of Uttar Pradesh Historical Society.
Kaghazāt (Add.6586)	Kaghazāt-i Mutafarriqa, Add. 6586.
K.B., Patna	Khudā Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Patna.
PIHC	Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.
Sadīq Khān	Shahjahan Nāma, Or. 1671.
Tuzuk	Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī
Vigat	Rajkiya Itihās kī Vīgat, No 232 (6), Rajasthan Research Institute, Jodhpur.
Zawabit	Zawābit-i ʿĀlamgīrī, Br. Mus. Add.6599.

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, scholars of Medieval India have been paying more attention to regional studies, perhaps as a reaction to the surfeit of general and 'universal' studies in the past. It is very likely that such studies might go a long way in not only testing, but also checking, many generalizations made in the general studies of Medieval India.

S.N. Sinha's Subah of Allahabad under the Mughals, is perhaps the first detailed study of any region of the Mughal Empire published so far. In the past few years, there has been a thrust at the Centre of Advanced Study (Department of History), Aligarh Muslim University, towards a systematic research on the sūbas of the Mughal Empire as well as on other regions, viz. Rajasthan. To my knowledge, work on Agra, Awadh and Ajmer has already been done by different research scholars, while that on Gujarat, Delhi and others is in progress. The present study is also a part of this plan.

The period of study begins from 1582 when the Mughal Empire was divided by Akbar into sūbas for efficient administration. The study stops at 1707, the year of Aurangzeb's death, with which the "classical" period of the Mughal Empire comes to an end.

For the sūba of Bihar, a number of articles by S. Hasan Askari, have been written on its political history (see bibliography). But very little has been written about the economic structure of the sūba. Jagdish Narain Sarkar's work on the economy of Bihar[1] covers a very long period and deals mainly with crafts and commercial activities of the province. No detailed study of the agrarian economy of Bihar has been made in the past.

The purpose of the present study is to explore the agrarian structure of Mughal Bihar, as also the state of crafts, industries and commercial activities of the sūba under the Mughals. The study of all the aspects of economy would help in understanding the complete economic structure of the sūba.

The political history of the sūba has been kept out of the scope of this study because its inclusion would have made it extensive and unmanageable, too, and it would have been difficult to devote adequate attention to all the aspects. However, a chapter on the general administration has been included (with a list of all the important officials who served in the sūba) to give an idea of the set-up in which its economy functioned.

To emphasise the agrarian relations much space has been given to the chapters on agriculture, peasantry, zamīndārs

1. Glimpses of Medieval Bihar Economy Thirteenth to Mid-Eighteenth Century, Calcutta, 1978.

and land revenue. In non-agrarian sectors crafts and industries and commercial activities also get a substantial coverage. The chapter on towns shows how the agrarian system and the proliferation of crafts and commerce generated urbanization.

Substantial portions of my M. Phil dissertation[1] have been included in the present study after careful pruning, and with additional material.

A variety of sources have been used for the preparation of the present study. The Āīn of course is the main source of study for the Mughal Bihar. Apart from the Āin, contemporary Persian chronicles too, have been utilised. Also a number of farmāns, parwānās, sanads and other Persian documents have been studied which are preserved in the Bihar State Archives Patna and Darbhanga, the Khuda Baksh Oriental Public Library, Patna and the Patna University Library. Many such documents are also available in the library of the Department of History, A.M.U.

Numerous accountancy manuals and Dastūr-al'amals lodged in the Khuda Baksh Library, Patna, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh, and other works lodged in the different libraries

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1. "Economy and Commerce of Bihar, 1582-1707," awarded in 1980.

in the United Kingdom were found very useful for the study of agrarian structure.

Accounts left by European and non-European travellers as well as the records of the English East India Company, provide valuable information on the economy and administration of the sūba. These have been extensively used.

Again unpublished records in the form of reports sent by the district officials to the Board of Revenue and other high officials, pertaining to the last quarter of the 18th ~~century~~ and early 19th century, are of great help. These reports investigate land rights and agrarian conditions prevalent in ~~the~~ different parts of the sūba from the Mughal period onwards. These are arranged district-wise in the Bihar State Archives, Patna. The Bhagalpur Records are the oldest and systematically arranged. Many ~~of the~~ survey reports ~~have been~~ published in the British Parliamentary Papers, vol. III, ~~which~~ have been used.

The Kāghazāt-i mutafarriqa (Miscellaneous Papers) contains pargana-wise revenue statistics of a number of sūbas including Bihar for which it has two sets of figures for early 18th century. Besides, it also includes a number of questionnaire put by the British officials concerning the

agrarian relations and terminology used in Bihar and Bengal, and their detailed answers given by native officials. This collection has been extensively used.

Survey Reports of Buchanan are indispensable and therefore, they have been used frequently to check and corroborate the evidence of the earlier contemporary sources.

A number of survey reports gazetteers, modern works and periodicals literature have been used. The details of the works used are given in bibliography.

CHAPTER - I

GEOGRAPHY

The accession of Akbar to the Mughal throne in 1556 may well be considered as a watershed in the history of Mughal administration, especially in North India. Akbar reorganised the empire in the 24th regnal year (1579-80), constituting twelve sūbas or provinces carved out of the previous administrative units.[1] The sūba of Bihar was one of them.[2]

Political Geography

Bihar was bounded by Bengal on the east, and sūbas of Allahabad and Awadh on the west.[3] To the north lay the low lying Himalayan ranges; and in the south the hills of the Vindhyas. Its length from Garhi to Rohtas was 120 kos, and its breadth from Tirhut to southern mountains 110 kōs.[4]

1. Abūl Fazl, Akbarnāmā, Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1873-87, III, p. 282. Also see P. Saran, The Provincial Government of the Mughals, 2nd ed. Delhi, 1972, p.64. For an account of the twelve subas, see Abul Fazl, Āīn-i Akbarī, ed. Blochmann, Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1866-77, vol. I, pp.386-595 (henceforth Ain).

2. For the account of the sūba of Bihar see Ain, I, pp. 416-23.

3. Āīn, p.416.

4. There is some error in the Ain's text (op. cit, p.416) It says from Tirhut to northern mountains instead of southern mountains (see Q. Ahmad, 'Aspects of Historical Geography of Medieval Bihar', Indian Historical Review V, No. 1-2, 1978-79, pp. 129-30.

The present province of Bihar, situated in the Indo-Gangetic plain corresponds fairly closely to the Mughal *suba* of Bihar with only few variations in area and boundary. The total map-area of the *sūba* in Akbar's period was 55,482 square miles.[1]

When the *Ā'īn* was compiled in 1595-96, the *suba* of Bihar was composed of seven *sarkārs*, namely Bihar, Munger, Champaran, Hajipur, Saran, Tirhut and Rohtas.[2] The *sarkār* of Rohtas was later on divided into two *sarkārs*: Rohtas and Shahabad or Bhojpur. The earliest available reference to these eight *sarkārs* in the *sūba* is from Jahangir's reign.[3] Perhaps the reason for the division of Rohtas was for administrative convenience. Moreover, all the *parganās* in the *sarkār* of Rohtas were placed under the *qil'adar* of the Rohtas fort.[4]

The suggestion that the *sarkār* of Jaunpur (*sūba* Allahabad for some time was included in the *sūba* of Bihar

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1. See Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Delhi, 1982, p. VII.

2. *Ain*, pp.416-23.

3. *Rajkiya Itihās kī Vigat*, no.232 (6), Rajasthan Research Institute, Jodhpur. I am thankful to my friend Dr. B.L. Bhadani for providing this information.

4. See Chapter II.

does not seem to be correct.[1]

In the following table, an approximate comparision of the sarkārs of Mughal India with modern districts of the state of Bihar has been made.[2]

Sarkar	Modern Districts
Bihar	Patna, Gaya, Nawada, Nalanda, Aurangabad, Palamau, Hazaribagh, Giridih, Dhanbad.
Munger	Munger, Bhagalpur, Santhal Pargana, Khagaria, Madhepur, Saharsa.

1. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System of Mughal India, Delhi, 1963, p. 8n. His inference is based on two references. First, a document included in Selected Documents of Shahjahan's Reign, (ed. Yusuf Husain Khan, Hyderabad Deccan, p.112) puts pargana Arwal of sarkār Jaunpur in sūba Bihar. But there was no such pargana in Jaunpur. This pargana is actually in the sarkar of Bihar. Secondly, Muhammad Sharif Najafi in Majālisu-s Salātīn (Or. 1903, f. 15a) also mentions that the sūba of Bihar included Patna and Jaunpur, this seems to be an error of transcription because the sūba of Bihar was also referred to as Patna and Hajipur during Akbar's time. No other contemporary source, revenue manuals or other documents refer to the inclusion of Jaunpur in sūba Bihar. Also see S.N. Sinha, Subah of Allahabad under the Mughals, reprint, Delhi, 1983, pp. 130n-131n.

2. For the sarkār boundaries of the sūba in 1595-96, see Irfan Habib, Atlas, op. cit., map 10 A; and for modern districts, see B.S. Kaushal, Comprehensive State Atlas of India, Delhi, 1982, p.4.

Sarkārs	Modern Districts
Champaran	West Champaran, East Champaran
Rohtas	Rohtas, Bhojpur
Hajipur	Vaishali, Muzaffarpur, Sitamarhi, Begusarai, Samastipur.
Saran	Gopalganj, Siwan, Saran.
Tirhut	Darbhanga, Madhubani, Saharsa, Khagaria.
Region of Kokhra[1]	Ranchi, Singhbhum, Dhanbad, Giridih, Hazaribagh, Palamau and Dhanbad.

Towards the end of Aurangzeb's reign, the city of Patna was named Azimabad on the recommendation of Prince Azimushshan, who was the governor of the sūba (1697-1706).[2]

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1. This part of the sūba of Bihar known as the region of Jharkhand or Kokhra (Āīn, p.88), was covered by a large tract of forest which probably had small tribal settlements. It appears that ~~from the reign of Jahangir, expeditious~~ from the reign of Jahangir, expeditions started to be sent to this region. (Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, ed. Saiyid Ahmad Khan, Ghazipur, Aligarh, 1863-64, pp. 154-55). By the end of the 17th century, it became a revenue-yielding territory. The revenue lists of 1712-19 shows that it yielded 92 lakh dāms annually (see Kaghazāt-i Muttaffariqa, Add. 6586 Br. Mus., f. 100a).

2. S. Hasan Askari, 'Bihar In the time of Aurangzeb', The Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Vol.XXXII, pt. II, 1946, p.180.

In the later manuals both the sūba and sarkār of Bihar are listed as Azimabad.

The total number of the parganas in the sūba at the time of the compilation of the Ain was 199[1] which increased to 244 by 1713-19.[2] In the following table, sarkār-wise mahāls or parganas for the period of Ain and early 18th century are given:

Table II

Sarkār	No. of mahāls	
	Ā'īn (1595-96)	Kaghazāt (1713-19)
Bihar	46	57
Tirhut	73	97
Munger	31	38

1. Ā'īn, pp. 417-23.

2. Kaghazāt, op.cit. Add. 6586, ff. 99a-101b. For the identification of the parganas contained in both the above stated sources see F. Buchanan, An Account of the Districts of Bihar and Patna in 1811-12, Patna, not dated, II, pp. 570-608; W.W. Hunter, A Statistical Account of Bengal, London, 1875-77, Vols. XI, pp.206-09, 355-61; XII, pp. 143-46, 212-14, 286-87; XIII, 180-200, 508-09; XIV, pp. 239-51, 378, XV, pp. 175-87; XVI; pp. 193-94, 393, 403-05. However, John Beams was the first to write on the political geography of the suba and he identified a number of the parganas (see Beams, 'On the Geography of India in the Reign of Akbar, part II - Subah Bihar', Journal of Asiatic Society of Benal, LIV, 1885, pp.162-82). In a recent study, Irfan Habib has identified most of the parganas of the sūba (The Atlas, op.cit., map 10 'A' & notes on pp. 39-40).

Sarkār	No. of mahāls	
	Āīn (1595-96)	Kaghazāt (1713-19)
Saran	17	18
Champaran	03	03
Hajipur	11	12
Rohtas)	18	07
Shahabad)	-	12
	199	244

A few changes in the political geography of Bihar is observable in later period. The pargana of Dharampur of sarkār Munger was transferred to Purniya sometime during the reign of Muhammad Shah[1], and pargana Jobna of sarkār Saran in 1730 was transferred to Gorakhpur[2]. Parts of a number of the parganas in the North Bihar are now in Nepal.[3] The sarkār of Purniya was in the sūba of Bengal.[4] The principality of Pachet shown by Irfan Habib outside the boundaries of sūba Bihar at the time of the Āīn was within the sūba atleast during the reign of Shahjahan.[5]

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1. K.K. Datta, Some Firmans, Sanads and Parwanas (1578-1802), Patna, 1962, pp.82-83, 85-86.
2. Kaghazāt, Add. 6586, ff. 149a. Also Irfan Habib, Atlas, p.39.
3. John Beams, 'Geography of Suba Bihar' op.cit.,p.177. Also see Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p.11.
4. Ain, p.400.
5. Abdul Hamid Lahori, Bādshāhnāmā, Calcutta, 1867, I, pt.II, p.317.

The total number of villages in the sūba of Bihar at the time of its formation can not be ascertained. However, the total number of villages in the sūba during Aurangzeb's reign was 55,376.[1]

Physical Geography

Bihar may be divided into two broad natural zones: the Middle Ganga Plain (the Western part of the middle Ganga Plain covered the districts of Uttar Pradesh) and the Chotanagpur plateau.

The greater part of the sūba fell in the Middle-Ganga Plain. Almost 95% of the parganas mentioned in the Ā'īn were situated in this zone in contrast, the Chotanagpur plateau had only a few parganas.

Middle-Ganga Plain

The eastern part of the Middle-Ganga Plain which comprised the sūba of Bihar may be further divided into two: The Middle-Ganga Plain (North) and The Middle-Ganga Plain (South) with the Ganges forming the dividing line between

1. Dastūr-al-'Amal (anonymous) Bodl. Fraser 86, f.59b. Also Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p.4. The number of villages was almost the same according to the 1881 census (Ibid, p.11).

the two.[1]

Excepting a small portion of the Shivalik hills in the north, the Middle-Ganga Plain (North) is a level riverine plain. The region is made of fertile alluvial soil having widespread vegetation and thick groves of fruits and other trees[2]. It is predominantly an agricultural region. As our section on population in the following pages will show, this part of the suba, as at present, was densely populated even during the Mughal period. The region may be divided in the following order:[3]

(a) Ganga-Ghagra Doab (covers Eastern U.P.)

(b) Saryupar Plain

(i) Terai)
) (covers Eastern U.P.)
(ii) Saryupar West)

(iii) Saryupar East (Saran Plain)

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1. See R.L. Singh, 'Middle Ganga Plain', in India: A Regional Geography, ed. R.L. Singh, Varanasi, 1971, p.246. The physical features of the region are based mainly on this work.

2. Ibid., p.246. Abul Fazl also records a number of fruits in this region (sarkārs of Champaran, Saran, Tirhut and Hajipur). For Tirhut, he specifically mentions that the groves of the orange trees extended to a distance of thirty kos. (Āin, p.417).

3. R.L. Singh, India, op. cit., p.246.

(c) Mithila Plain

(i) Himalayan foot hills

(ii) Mithila Plain West

(iii) Mithila Plain East

(d) Kosi Plain

(i) Kosi Plain West (Saharsa Plain)

(ii) Kosi Plain East (Purnea Plain)

(b) Middle-Ganga Plain (South)

This region covered the sarkar of Rohtas and Northern part of the sarkar of Bihar of Akbar's reign. The region has a fertile alluvial cover, having a very large east-west extent, with wide variations in rainfall. The region may be divided in the following order.[1]

(a) The Ganga-Son Divide

(i) The Ganga-Son Divide West (in Eastern U.P.)

(ii) The Ganga-Son Divide East (Bhojpur plain)

(b) The Magadh Anga Plain

(i) The Magadh Plain

(ii) The Anga Plain

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1. R.L. Singh, pp. 246-48.

The region has good natural irrigational facilities from the tributaries of the Son and is favourable for rice cultivation.

The Chotanagpur Plateau

Most of this region was called Jharkhand or the jungle region. The portion in the extreme south was called Kokhra. The region contained less than 5% of the parganas of Bihar sūba.[1] A few autonomous principalities in this region have been mentioned. Chotanagpur has the most important mineral belt of India accounting for 40 to about 100 per cent of the national production of minerals.[2] Its development during the last two hundred years is mainly the story of the exploitation of the mineral resources, which has made it the most industrially developed region of Bihar. During the period of our study, it provided diamonds, various forest products and probably iron too.[3]

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1. For scattered parganas in this region, see Irfan Habib, Atlas, sheet 10 'A'. Kokhra does not seems to have been under the sway of the Mughals under Akbar, but the revenue tables in Kaghzat Add. 6586 (A.D. 1712-19) mentions it as the Wilāyat of Kokhra, estimated to pay ₹92 lakhs of dams (f. 100a).

2. J. Singh and Deepa Thapan, "Chotanagpur Region", India, ed. R.L. Singh, pp. 656-57.

3. See the Chapter on Non-Agricultural Production infra.

The region may be divided into two:[1] Chotanagpur North and Chotanagpur South. The farmer is endowed with minerals like coal and mica. The latter has uneven relief. Although the pleateau is not so rich in fertile soil as the plains of Bihar, it has some good portions of rich soil which are very fertile if proper irrigation is available.[2] The region lacks natural irrigational facilities due to absence of a wide spread river network.

The annual rainfall in the plateau is 100-125; therefore, agriculture depends entirely on monsoon. However, the region has abundant belt of luxuriant forest.

Rivers

Bihar has a large network of rivers which effects its urban-rural pattern and socio-economic life. The rivers in this region have always been a source of prosperity by bringing the soils of the mountains to make the lands of the plain fertile, and also as a means for commercial transport.

The Ganges is the most important of the Bihar rivers and is the recipient of all the water channels in the region. The Ganges divides the sūba into two, namely North and South

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1. J.Singh & Deepa Thapan, op.cit., pp. 671-75.
2. Ibid.

Bihar. The Ganges was the most important navigable river[1], during the period of our study, providing a water-route from Allahabad to Bengal and also connecting Allahabad to Agra through the Jamuna.

Tavernier, in 1665-66, travelled along the Ganges from Patna to Rajmahal in a boat and has recorded the course of the river at that time.[2] In 1670, Marshal took a boat from Rajmahal to Patna and back, recording minutely the course of the Ganges between these two points.[3] A comparision of the accounts of Tavernier and Marshall with the present course of the river shows that it has changed since then.

In the Mughal period the Ganges entered the province of Bihar from the west near Chausa, and left the sūba to enter Bengal near Garhi. Two main changes have occured in the course of the Ganges since Marshall's time: first, between Surajgarh and Ghoraghat it used to have a more circuitious route than now; and secondly, between Kahalgaon and Garhi

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1. Its navigable tonnage of boats was 100-500 tons see Irfan Habib, Atlas, sheet 10 'B'.

2. J.B. Tavernier, Travels in India, 1640-67, tr. V. Ball, London, 1889, Vol. I, pp.123-25.

3. John Marshall, John Marshall in India Notes and Observations in Bengal, 1668-72, Ed. S.A. Khan, London,1927, pp. 71-79, 95-97, 116-28.

it ran a somewhat straight course.[1]

The Ghaghra or Sarju (Dewah) joined the Ganges in the sarkār of Saran, near the pargana of Cherand[2]. The Gandak also flowed from the north and merged in the Ganges near Hajipur[3]. The Burhi Gandak, coming from the north merged in the Ganges near Munger[4] Of the Northern rivers, the Kosi had for centuries been the wildest and the most devastating of the Indian rivers. No wonder, E. Ahmed calls it the 'Hwang Ho of Bihar'.[5] It is very difficult to trace its course during the time of our study; however in the 18th century it joined the Ganges near Cultery.[6] According to E. Ahmad "within the last two hundred years its course has

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1. Irfan Habib, Atlas, sheet 10 B; also see J. Rennel, A Bengal Atlas London, 1781, 'River Ganges from Patna to Surdah', map no.15.

2. A. Latif, "Travels in Bihar - 1608 A.D.", tr. J.N. Sarkar, JBORS, Vol. V, 1919, pt. III, p. 598; Also see J. Rennel, op. cit. map no. III.

3. Ain, p. 416; Marshall, op. cit., p.78.

4. Tavernier, op. cit., I, p.124.

5. E. Ahmad, 'Rural Population of Bihar', Geographical Review, Vol. 51, 1961, p.265.

6. J. Rennel, map no. II; for the changes in the course of the river Kosi see, Shillingford, 'Changes in the course of Cosi', JASB, Vol. 64, 1895, No.1, pp. 1-24.

shifted seventy five miles, converting about three thousand square miles of fertile lands into sandy fields and grassy marshes and seriously disturbing the rural economy".[1] To tame and train the river a protective embankment from Bagha to its confluence with the Ganges has been made. Kosi project has greatly improved the agriculture of the region.

Of the southern rivers, the first to merge in the Ganges was the Karamnasa, which joined it near Chausa.[2] However the most important southern river is the Son which joined the Ganges near Maner.[3] The river has been notorious for changing its course in the past, as traceable from several old beds on its east. The Pun-Pun also comes from the southern Bihar. According to the Ā'īn, it joined the Ganges near Patna.[4] However, Marshall noticed it joining the Ganges near Fatwah.[5] Rennel's Bengal Atlas end the survey of India

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1. E. Ahmad, 'Rural Population of Bihar', op.cit., p.265.
2. Ā'īn, p.416.
3. There seems to be some error in the Ain's text where it is mentioned as northern river, p.416. However, Sujan Rai mentions it as the southern river, see Sujān Rai, Khulasat-ut Tawārīkh, Delhi, 1918, p.46.
4. Ā'īn, p.416.
5. Marshall, p.77, 82 n.

map also show it joining the Ganges near Fatwah.[1]

The Chotanagpur plateau has numerous rivers and streams of which the South Koel, the North Koel, the Sabarkantha, the Damodar and the Barakar rivers are important.[2] The southern rivers are characterized by wide shallow channels over the flat plateau but due to the relief of the region the river courses are interrupted by waterfalls. The rivers of the plateau are highly unreliable, having continuous flow only during the rainy season and the rest of the year the river beds are generally dry.[3] This river pattern is responsible for the sparse settlements in the region. In the last one hundred and fifty years, the exploration of mineral products and development of road and railway network has given rise to a chain of developed towns in the plateau.

Floods

Floods were (and still are) a regular feature of the Bihar rivers. The contemporary Persian and European accounts

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1. Rennel, map. 15; Survey of India, quarter inch sheet, 72 G. IInd. ed., 1950.
2. J. Singh & Deepa Thapan, op. cit., pp. 652-53.
3. Ibid., p. 653.

refers to floods, especially in the rivers originating from northern mountains.[1] When the Ganges itself remains in spate and thwarts the incoming water from its numerous tributaries in the region, large areas get flooded leading to the disruption of the transport system and devastation of life and property. Besides the Ganges, the Ghaghra, the Gandak, the Kosi and the Son, too, are notorious for floods.[2]

The rivers have shifted their courses frequently covering wide areas throughout the historic times as reflected by the remnants of their former beds in the form of ox-bow lakes, dead arms, chaurs, tāls and ruins of settlements.[3] The Ain also refers to such lakes which existed in the Tirhut and Rohtas regions.[4] Large number of springs are also reported to have existed in the sarkars of Rohtas[5] and Munger.[6]

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1. P. Mundy, Travels, Vol. II, Ed. R.C. Temple, London, 1914, p. 135; Marshall, p.138; W. Hedges, The Diary of William Hedges, I, ed. H. Yule, Hakluyt Society, Vol. 74, London, 1886, pp. 159-60; Also see Upendra Thakur, "Mithila Under the Khandalwalas", JBRS, Vol. XLVIII, pt. II, 1962, pp. 76-77; S. Hasan Askari, "Bihar in the Reign of Aurangzeb", JBRS, Vol. 31, pt. IV, 1945, pp. 254-55.

2. R.L. Singh, pp. 196-97; O.H.K. Spate and A.T.A. Learmonth, India and Pakistan, a General and Regional Geography, 3rd ed. London, 1967, pp. 564-65.

3. Ibid., p.565.

4. Āīn, pp.416-17.

5. Ibid., p.417.

6. Latif, 'Travels', op.cit., p.600.

Rainfall

The sūba of Bihar, especially the Tirhut, Patna and Bhagalpur regions, received high rainfall thereby making the regions chiefly rice-producing areas.[1]

Of the total rainfall of the province about 85-90% is from the monsoon. In North Bihar the annual rainfall is around 120 cms[2], while in the extreme north it is 152 cms[3]; in the plateau region, too, it's above 150 cms. Normal amount of rain in Ranchi, Hazaribagh and Dhanbad regions is 151, 134 & 131 cms. respectively.[4]

Climate

Abul Fazl describes the general climate of Bihar as of intensely hot summers and moderate winters. He adds that the rainy season continues for six months, and that warm clothes are not used for more than two months in a year.[5] The climate of Bihar can best be described in accordance with the three seasons into which the year is divided: the hot

1. O.H.K. Spate, India & Pakistan, op.cit., p.566.
2. R.L. Singh, p.198.
3. Spate, p. 564.
4. J. Singh & Deepa Thapan, p.655.
5. Ain, p.416.

season from March to May, the rainy season from June to October, and the cold season from November to February.

Hills

Marshall and Tavernier have mentioned long ranges of hills which they came across during their journey in Bihar & Bengal.[1] The Himalayan foot-hills region of the Siwalik formations covers an area of about 364 km.[2] Someswar and Dun hills, situated in the north of the province, are the lowest and outermost of all the Himalayan ranges. Notable among the southern hills are the Barbar hills, the Rajgir Jathian and the Kharakpur hills. These hills lie mainly in the sarkārs of Bihar, Champaran, Tirhut and Munger, and are rich sources of a variety of minerals.

Forests

A large part of the sūba in our period was covered by forest. One forest belt sprawled across the sarkār of Champaran, adjacent to Nepal, while another spread over the sarkār of Tirhut.[3] Bernier noticed a tract of forest to the north-east of the sarkar of Munger.[4] In 1632, Peter Mundy

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1. Marshall, pp.71-79, 95-97, 116-128; Tavernier, I, pp. 120-24.

2. R.L. Singh, p.189.

3. Irfan Habib, Atlas, map nos. 70 A & B,p.41; J. Rennel, map nos, II, III, IV. Abul Fazl also refers to forests in Champaran where long pepper grew (Ain, p. 417).

4. F. Bernier, Travels in the Mogul Empire, 1656-68, tr. A. Constable, London, 1891, p.80.

noticed large forests areas between Sahasram and Sherpur (Makrain).[1] The largest forest tract, as stated earlier, was to the south of the sarkars of Bihar and Munger known as Kokhra in the Jharkhand region.[2] The total area of the Kokhra forest in Akbar's time was 7,671 square miles.[3] Besides being a valuable source of timber, the forest also provided, many other commercial products such as lac (the forests of Chotanagpur alone today yield 41% lac production of the country)[4], bamboos, lingnumaloe and myrobalon.[5]

Population

It is not possible to estimate the total population of the suba during our period in absolute terms. In fact, it is difficult to offer even a rough estimate because contemporary

1. Travels, II, p.133 & n.
2. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, pp. 154-55. Also see Irfan Habib, Atlas, maps 10 A & B, p.41.
3. Irfan Habib, Atlas, p. VII.
4. J. Singh & Deepa Thapan, p. 658.
5. See forest products in the chapter on Agricultural Production infra.

sources help us no further than allowing us to say that Patna as that time was the largest and most populous town. Manrique's statement that the population of Patna was 2 lakhs is the only information of its kind.[1]

Thus handicapped by the lack of any direct information, we can at best try to study the pattern of distribution of the population in the various sarkārs on the basis of the revenue distribution in 1595 and the population density in 1872.

Working on the assumption that the society at that time was mainly agrarian and that advanced mechanical devices for cultivation were absent, we can say that the areas showing large land-revenue incidence must have had a comparatively dense population. Thus, from the revenue incidence (obtained from the jamaʿ figures of the Āʾīn) we can form a rough idea of the pattern of distribution of population in the different sarkārs at the end of the 16th century and compare it with the actual density of population in the corresponding area in 1872. For this purpose, per square-mile jamaʿ figures of the Āʾīn (Table A) have been given below.

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1. F.S. Manrique, Travels, 1629-43, tr. C.E. Luard & Hosten, Vol. II, Hakluyt Society, London, 1927, p.140. Also see Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p.76 & n.

In another (Table B), per square mile population density for 1872 is given. For a clear picture maps A and B have been appended at the end of the chapter.

Table A

Bihar-Jama per sq. mile - 1595 A.D.

Sarkār	Map Area* (sq. miles)	Jama'** (dāms)	Jama' per sq.mile
Bihar			
(i) Measured mahals	5,284	7,43,19,750	14,065.05
(ii) Unmeasured mahals	11,920	1,01,45,740	851.15
Munger	7,745	3,14,04,181	4,054.76
Champaran	3,376	55,13,420	1,633.12
Hajipur	2,479	2,73,31,030	11,025.02
Saran	4,028	1,61,72,004	4,014.89
Tirhut	6,509	1,91,89,777	2,948.19
Rohtas	6,466	4,08,19,493	6,312.94

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* Map area of the sarkārs has been taken from Irfan Habib, Atlas, p.VII.

** The figures for jama' have been collated with the two manuscripts of the Āin-i Akbari, lodged in the British Museum (Add. 7652 and Add. 6552).

Table B

Population per square mile (1872)*

District & subdivision	Population/ sq. mile	District & subdivision	Population/ sq. mile
TIRHUT	691	PATNA	742
1. Sadr(Muzaffarpur)	707	1. Dinapur	1071
2. Hajipur	822	2. Barh	583
3. Tajpur	855	3. Bihar	721
4. Darbhanga	645	LOHAR DAGA	103
5. Sitamarhi	721	1. Sadr	112
6. Madhubani	538	2. Palamau	86
CHAMPARAN	408	GAYA	413
1. Sadr (Motihari)	584	1. Sadr	597
2. Bettiah	279	2. Jahanabad	591
		3. Aurangabad	314
SARAN	778	4. Nawadah	436
1. Chapra	859		
2. Sewan	692	SANTHAL PARGANA	229
		1. Pakenr	247
SHAHABAD	393	2. Naya Dumka	198
1. Arrah	637	3. Deogarh	217
2. Buxar	593	4. Jamatra	197
3. Sasaram	255	MUNGER	463
4. Bhabua	284	1. Sadr (Munger)	481

* The population figures are taken from W.W. Hunter, A Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. XI, pp.35, 241; XII, 31, 182; XIII, 34, 234; XIV, 46, 277; XV, 48; XVI, 56, 249; XVII, 34, 271.

District & subdivision	Population/ sq mile	District & subdivision	Population/ sq. mile
2. Begu Sarai	619	HAZARIBAGH	110
3. Jamui	331	1. Sadr	105
BHAGALPUR	422	2. Pachamba	123
1. Sadr (Bhagalpur)	495	SINGHBHUM	92
2. Banka	320	MANBHUM	203
3. Mudahpura	448	1. Sadr	203
4. Supuli	444	2. Gobindpur	198

The population concentration in 1872 is highest in the sub-division of Patna. Dinapore, and Bihar. The area very closely corresponds to the (measured) area of the sarkār of Bihar in the late sixteenth century. Similarly, the subdivisions of Muzaffarpur, Tajpur and Hajipur had a dense population in 1872, so is the case with the sarkār of Hajipur (covering almost the same are) where jamá was very high in the sixteenth century. High jamá concentration region of Rohtas does not show a similar population trend in the corresponding District of Shahabad if taken as a whole. But here the sub-divisions of Arrah and Buxar show a higher population concentration, while the sub-divisions of Bhabua and Sahasram exhibit low population density. The latter

region, even in the sixteenth century, had scattered parganas and forest tracts.

The district of Saran with its sub-divisions of Chapra and Sewan in the census had a relatively high population concentration, but the sarkār with the same name and area in 1595 does not show a high jamá incidence. Here, again, the sub-divisions of Chapra shows higher incidence of population than Sewan. This may be explained by the fact that Chapra, in the second half of the 17th century, was only a big village,[1] but it evolved as a centre of commercial activity in the subsequent period and in due course became the administrative headquarter of the district.[2]

The sarkār of Tirhut, though represents a small revenue incidence in 1595, had a high population density in 1872. This increase may be attributed to the extension of agriculture, especially of indigo in the18th-19th centuries.

The region of South Bihar comprising the districts of Hazaribagh, Lohardaga (Palamau) and Singh Bhum were most sparsely inhabited. Interestingly enough, the corresponding region in 1595 had the lowest jamá distribution (sarkār

1. Tavernier, II, p.12.

2. L.S.S. O'Malley, Saran, pp. 131-34.

Bihar unmeasured). Similarly, the sarkār of Champaran having low jamaʿ incidence in 1595 had low population density even in 1872. These seems to have been very little change in the case of sarkār of Munger, having both the jamaʿ incidence and population neither too high nor too low.

It seems that the jamaʿ incidence varies in almost the same fashion as population density (see maps A & B).

Geographical relief plays an important role in the distribution of population. A study of the effect of the physical features on the settlement pattern of Bihar shows that at present 80 per cent of the population in Bihar lives in the plain (average attitude being less than 150 meters), while the higher attitude regions of Chotanagpur accounts for the remainder.[1] If this is applied to the jamaʿ figures of the Āīn, the high attitude region(of sarkār Bihar unmeasured) had a jamaʿ of 1,01,45,740 dāms as against 21,47,496,55 dams for the rest of sūba, that is just less than 5%. But this region (unmeasured or Chotanagpur) has developed many fold due to rapid industrialization & large scale exploitation of mines. In the same way, climate and soil favourable to

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1. Santwana Ghosh, 'Physical and Economic Factors in the Population Distribution of Bihar', The National Geographic Journal of India', Vol. XVI, pt. I, March, 1970, pp. 61-70. The population figure for 1961 census have been used here.

agriculture are also responsible for high population density for the plain region.[1]

On the basis of the foregoing discussion, one may venture to say that the population distribution between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries remained almost same. However, in certain tracts, as in North Bihar, population density in comparision to other tracts, seems to have increased probably because of the large scale forest clearance in the region.

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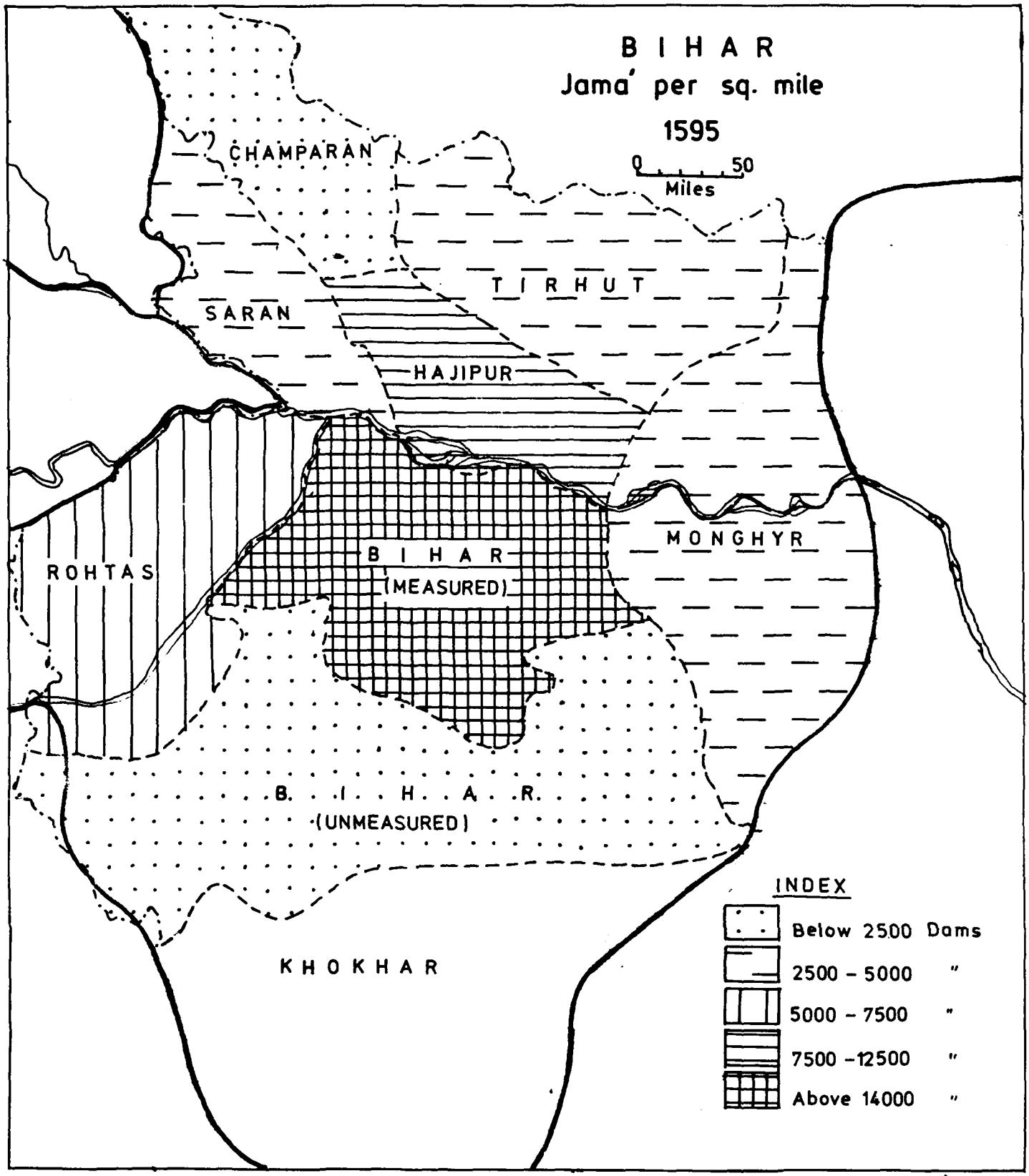
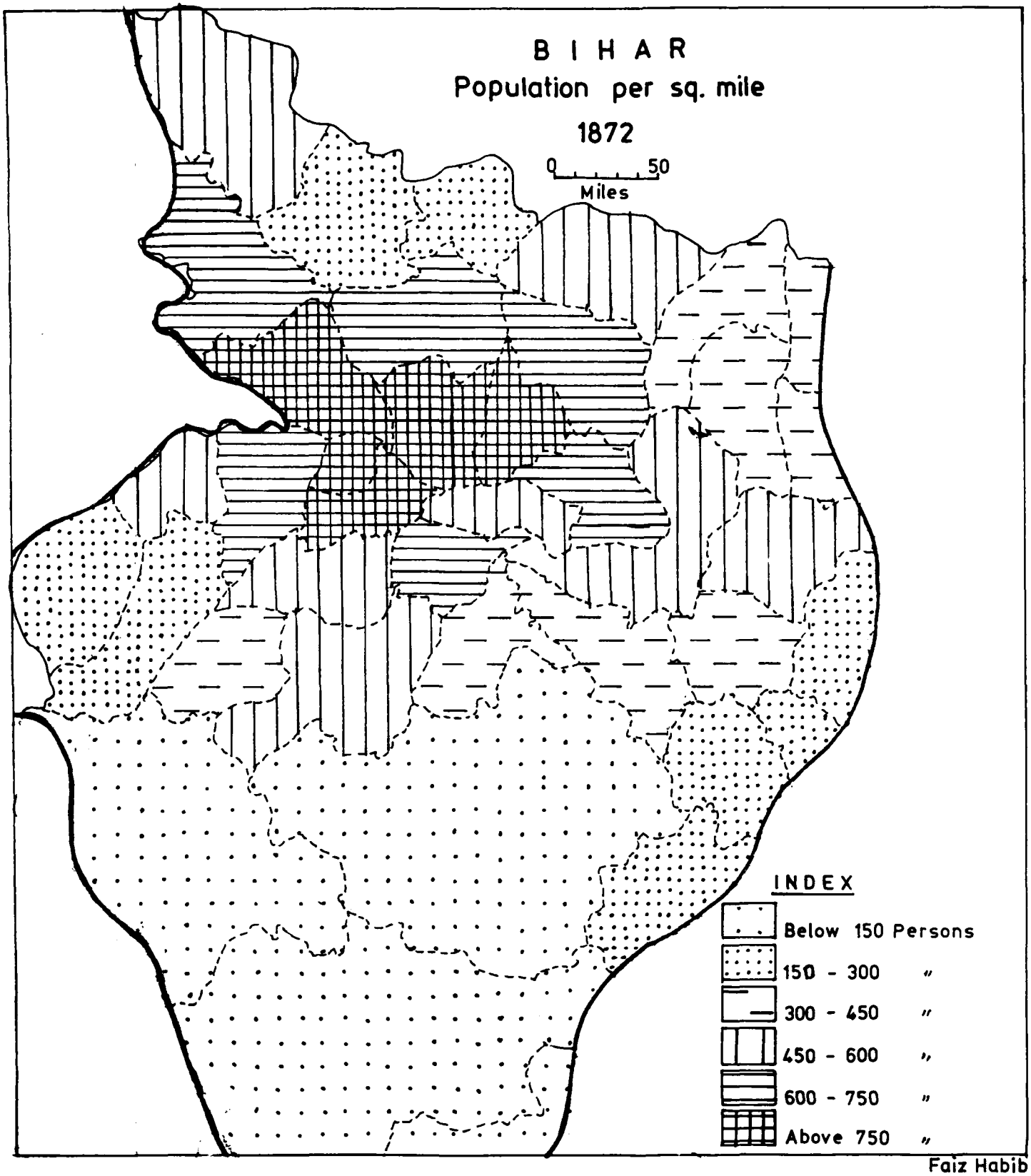
1. Ibid.


B I H A R
Jama' per sq. mile
1595
0 50
Miles
CHAMPARAN
SARAN
T I R H U T
HAJIPUR
ROHTAS
B I H A R
(MEASURED)
MONGHYR
B. I. H. A. R.
(UNMEASURED)
KHOKHAR
INDEX
Below 2500 Dams
2500 - 5000 "
5000 - 7500 "
7500 -12500 "
Above 14000 "

Faiz Habib


B I H A R
Population per sq. mile
1872
0
50
Miles
INDEX
Below 150 Persons
150 - 300 "
300 - 450 "
450 - 600 "
600 - 750 "
Above 750 "
Faiz Habib

C H A P T E R II

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

In the 24th regnal year of Akbar, when the Empire was divided into twelve subas, officials with specific tasks were appointed to ensure the smooth functioning of administration in each suba.[1]

At the apex of the provincial administration was the sīpahsālār (subedār or pvcincial governor), followed by the dīwān, bakhshi, mir'adl, sadr, kotwāl, mirbahr, and wāqi'anavīs.[2] Besides these key officials of the suba, there were other functionaries, too.

The provincial governor, as the imperial agent, was the most important official of the sūba, entrusted with a wide range of powers relating to administration in his sūba.

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1. See Abul Fazl, Akbarnāmā, III, p.282. In modern times, Saran's work was the first detailed study of the Mughal provincial administration, followed by a number of articles by other scholars bearing on different aspects of the subject (See P.Saran, Provincial Government of the Mughals, Allahabad, 1941, N.A.Siddiqui, "The Faujdar and Faujdari under the Mughals", Medieval India Quarterly, Vol.IV, 1961, pp.22-35; Q.Ahmad, "The Functioning of some of the Provincial and Local officials of the Mughal Government" PIHC, 1958, Trivandrum, pp. 351-60).

2. See Akbarnāmā, p. 282.

Abul Fazl says that he was the incharge of the troops stationed there.[1] His functions, according to him, included supression of rebellions and dispensation of justice. He appointed his subordinates to work for the extension of cultivation and also to look after the public buildings.[2] There was to be one governor in each sūba, but in the 31st regnal year (1586-87) Akbar decided to appoint simultaneously two governors to each province. The official view was that in the case of the 'inability' of ~~the~~ one, the other may take his place.[3] Most probably this "double governorship" was designed for "check and balance." In the flush of this experiment in Bihar, Said Khan and M.Yusuf Khan were appointed joint governors.[4] But this practice was shortlived, being abandoned after sometime. In fact, it was never adopted during the reign of the subsequent Mughal emperors.

The governors owed their appointment to the sole will of the emperor; appointment by a prince was considered a

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1. Āīn-i-Akbari, I, p.280.
2. Ain, pp.281-82, Saran, Provincial Government, op.cit., pp.170-82.
3. Akbarnama, III, p.511.
4. Akbarnama, III, p.511.

rebellious act on the latter's part. When Jahangir rebelled as a prince, he appointed Qutub Khan as governor of Bihar.[1] Sharif Khan was also appointed by the same prince as governor of Bihar.[2] Some times sazawal were appointed to escort the newly appointed governor to his assigned territory.[3] Subhan Quli Turk was appointed to escort Qiya Khan Gang from Orissa to Bihar.[4] Sazawal was also appointed to take Jahangir Quli Khan from Allahabad to Bihar.[5] Raja Sarang Deo was appointed as a sazawal to Prince Parwez to take him to Bihar.[6] Apart from high ranking nobles, many princes too, got governorship in Bihar. But they generally left the sūba under the care of their deputies (nāib) who, for all purposes, acted as the de facto governor. Bahadur Khan acted as deputy to Dārā Shukoh (in Bihar) during the 32nd regnal year of Shahjahan.[7] Sarbuland Khan acted as the

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1. Shah Nawaz Khan, Ma'asir-ul Umara, Bib.Indica, 1880-91, Calcutta, III, pp.66-68.

2. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, p.6.

3. Sazawal was an agent appointed by the emperor generally to summon some nobles to court or to escort them to a specified assignment in some special cases.

4. Akbarnama, III, p.281.

5. Tuzuk, P. 185.

6. Ibid., p. 327.

7. Muhammad Saleh Kamboh, Amal-i-Saleh, iii, Lahore, 1960, pp. 247,278.

deputy of Prince Azimushshan when he was the governor of Bihar from the 47th to the 51st regnal year of Aurangzeb.[1] One governor to one sūba was the normal practice but once Prince Shuja' was given the charge of Bihar along with Bengal.[2]

When the governor left the province for duty outside, he handed over its charge to a trustworthy person (an officer or a relative); alternatively, an officer from the centre was sent in his place. When Afzal Khan, the governor of Bihar, went to his jāgīr in Gorakhpur, the charge was given to Syed Husain Banarasi and Ghiyas Beg, the bakhshi and dīwān of the province.[3] When Daud Khan went in pursuit of Prince Shuja, the charge of Bihar was given to his nephew.[4] In 1650, when Saeed Khan, the sūbeḥdār of Bihar, was sent to Kabul, Lahershap Khan, the mīrbakhshī, was sent to take the charge pending the appointment of a new governor.[5] Governors were shown extra favours for loyal services in the form of enhancement of their mansab or award of cash

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1. Sāqī Must'ad Khān, Ma'āsir-i ʿĀlamgīrī, Bib.Indica, 1871, p.470.

2. Ma'āsir-al-Umarā, op.cit., III, pp.583-84.

3. Tuzuk, pp.83-84; Mutamad Khan, Iqbālnāmā-i Jahāngīrī, Bib.Indica, Calcutta, 1865, pp.42-44; Ma'āsir-al-Umarā, I, pp.115-17.

4. Ma'āsir-al-Umarā, II, pp. 33-34.

5. Saran, p.175.

and also additional jāgīr. In 1616, Ibrahim Khan, the governor of Bihar, got an increment in his ranks for the conquest of Kokhara.[1] When Sangram, the raja of Kharagpur, was killed, his jāgīr was given to Islam Khan and Afzal Khan each for one year in 1607 and 1608 respectively.[2] Muhammad Azam Khan, the governor of Bihar (1677), was given 5 kror dāms as reward.[3]

A strict vigil was kept by the imperial authority on the governors and, occasionally, they were duly punished for their misdeeds, irregularities and lapses. Muqarrab Khan, (13th to 15th regnal years of Jahangir), was removed from the governorship of Bihar (15th R.Y.) on the charge that his brothers and son-in-law were oppressing the people of the sūba.[4] Similarly, Mirza Rustam Safavi was removed from the governorship in 1612 for the misuse of office.[5] In 1683 Safi Khan was kept under confinement because he had taken Rs. 56,000 from the provincial treasury without the

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1. Tuzuk, pp. 154-55.
2. Ibid., pp. 69-70.
3. Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgīrī, p. 157.
4. Tuzuk, p. 244.
5. Ibid.,pp. 129-30.

prior permission of the emperor. Safi Khan was released only when the amount was returned by him.[1]

As regards the tenure of governors, they were frequently transferred as and when the emperor wished: 3-4 years was the average duration of their tenure (see Table-A). How ever Buzurg Ummed Khan seems to have served as governor for about ten years under Aurangzeb.[2]

The number of troops under the governor was not determined by the past he was holding but by his individual mansab. The governor of Bihar with the highest mansab was Prince Dara Shukoh (60,000 zat/40,000 sawār).[3] But such high mansab was only for the princes. Among the ordinary nobles, Saeed Khan held the highest mansab of 7,000/7,000.[4]

It appears that the governor of Bihar was supposed to take over the sūbedārī of Bengal ~~in case of the death~~ in case of the death of the latter's governor. One contemporary source informs us that in the case of the death of the governor of Bengal, the senior officer of Munger should proceed to take charge; if there was no senior officer at Munger, than the governor of Bihar should take over.

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1. Ma'āsir-i 'Ālamgīrī, p.226.
2. See Table A.
3. 'Amal-i Sāleh, III, pp. 277-78.
4. Ma'āsir-al Umarā, II, pp. 429-37.

Accordingly in 1613, when Islam Khan, the governor of Bengal, died, Zafar Khan from Bihar proceeded for Bengal, but was called back by the emperor and directed to complete the siege of Palamau.[1]

DĪWĀN

The Diwan was another important official of the sūba. He was the head of the financial department in the province. He was appointed by the emperor through the office of the sadr dīwān of the empire.[2] It seems that in the 40th regnal year of Akbar (1595) the office of the provincial dīwān was reorganised. New dīwāns in all the provinces were appointed and placed under the dīwān-i 'ālā of the empire.[3] Probably the dīwān, prior to this, was a subordinate of the governor.[4] The dīwān's functions were multifarious which included supervision, the assessment and collection of land revenue and general supervision of the revenue staff. He also kept watch on the conduct of the assignees or their agents, and he reported to the emperor about maladministration.[5] He worked for the extension of cultivation and saw

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1. Mirza Nathan, Bahāristān-i Ghaibi, pp.257-58.
2. See Ibn Hasan, The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire, Delhi, 1967 (reprint), p.206.
3. Akbarnāma, III, p.670.
4. Ibn Hasan, The Central Structure & c. op.cit., p.165.
5. For details, see Saran, Provincial Government, pp.174-77, Also see Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, pp.294-95.

to it that the peasantry was not harassed by subordinate officials. Aurangzeb's farmān to Muhammad Hashim, the dīwān of Gujarat, makes it clear that he was to look after all the branches of revenue administration of the sūba.[1] Apart from supervising the revenue administration, in the time of the crisis he was called upon to render military service and participate in compaigns. For example, we find Rai Patr Das leading his forces against the rebels during his tenure.[2] The dīwān at times officiated as governor when the latter went out of the sūba.[3]

The dīwān had under him a number of subordinate imperial and local officials, such as 'amīn, qānūngo chaudhurī and muqaddam, who assisted him in the revenue administration of the parganās and villages.[4]

All the matters related to the office of the dīwān at the sūba were represented to the emperor through the

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1. This farmān was not exclusively for the dīwān of Gujarat, the copies of the same were sent to other provinces, too. (See J.N.Sarkar, 'Farmān to Mohammad Hashim', 1668-69, JASB, N.S.II, 1906, pp. 238-49.

2. Akbarnāma, III, pp.315, 322-25, 408,448; Nizamuddin, Ahmad, Tabaqāt-i Akbarī, ed. B.De, Bib.India, Calcutta, 1931, Vol.II, pp.349-51; Abdul Qadir Badauni, Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh, Bib.Indica, Calcutta, 1864-68, Vol.II, pp.266,281.

3. Tuzuk,pp.83-84, Iqbālnāma, pp.42-44.

4. These revenue officials have been discussed separately in the Chapter on Land Revenue (infra).

sadr dīwān at the centre.[1] This position ofthe dīwān in the sūba, independent of the governor, sometimes created administrative problems. In case the dīwān and the governor of the sūba did not work in harmony, the administration suffered. Musavi Khan, the dīwān of Bihar, could not get on well with Buzurg Ummed Khan, the governor, during Aurangzeb's reign. Both complained about each other. As a result Musavi Khan was removed.[2]

A list of the dīwāns appointed to the sūba of Bihar is appended at the end of this chapter. The list is small when compared to that of the Governors. It seems that there was a separate dīwān to supervise the Khālisa territories in the sūba. In the 36th regnal year of Akbar (1592), the whole Khālisa land of the empire was divided into four parts and each was placed under a dīwān. Bihar along with the sūbas of Agra, Allahabad and Bengal was placed under Rai Ram Das.[3] It is difficult to find out as to what changes in this arrangement were made when the office of dīwān in the province was reorganised in the 40th regnal year of Akbar which we have referred to earlier. However, there is no

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1. Ibn Hasan, op.cit., pp. 207-08.
2. Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, I, pp. 453-54, II, pp. 633-34.
3. Akbarnāma, III, p. 605.

evidence of this practice of a Khālisa dīwān in the subsequent period.

BAKHSHĪ:

Yet another important offices in the province was the bakhshī. He was to look after the affairs of the army of the sūba and the troops under different jāgīrdārs. The distribution of salaries of provincial officials was also his responsibility.[1] He had his own staff of scribes and clerks. In the provincial hierarchy, he was considered next to the governor and dīwān. The provincial bakhshī's appointment was made through the office of the Mīr Bakhshī at the centure.[2] All the despatches sent from the province by Bakhshī were placed before the emperor through the Mīr Bakhshī. Similarly the imperial orders to the province were conveyed through the same channel.[3] The posts of the provincial bakhshī and the chief wāqi'a-navīs (news writer) of the province were bestowed on the same person.[4] As a wāqi'a-navīs, his duty was to report every significant happening in the sūba. Perhaps the combination of the two

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1. Munshi Nand Ram, Siyāqnāma, Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, 1879, pp.249-50. Also see Saran, op.cit., p.198.
2. Ibn Hasan, p. 226.
3. Ibid., pp. 220-22.
4. Tuzuk, pp. 145, 189.

posts was a good device to keep the centre informed of the happenings of the sūba because bakhshī, with his high mansab and status in the sūba, was not likely to be easily influenced.

Then there were a number of news writers in every sarkār and pargana of the sūba.[1]

SADR:

The sadr was the head of the religious department, charities and grants. All the madad-i ma'āsh grants available from Bihar carryed the seal of the sadr. The first reference to the appointment of the provincial sadr is from the reign of Akbar when Masum was appointed the sadr of Bihar (1579). However, of the 26th regnal year (1582), a detailed list of the sadrs appointed to different sūbas is available. But the jurisidction of the sadrs is not clear from the appointment order. They were appointed to different regions rather than one in each sūba. For Bihar two sadrs were appointed with separate jurisdiction. Hakim Humayun was made incharge of the territory from Hajipur to Saran, and Bihar (perhaps sarkār of Bihar) was

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1. Saran, pp.197-99; Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p.296. Q.Ahmad, 'Provincial and Local Officials', op.cit., pp. 356-57.

2. Badauni, Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh, op.cit., II, p.277.

placed under Hakim Ali.[1] Evidences from Shahjahan's reign show that there was to be one sadr in each province.[2] In Aurangzeb's reign, Iabadullah was appointed the sadr of sūba Bihar in 1695,[3] a single sadr for the whole sūba. However, Ghulam Husain refers to the sadrs in the sūba and sarkārs both.[4] But I have not come across any reference to the appointment of any sadr in the sarkārs in Bihar during the 17th century.

All the matters relating to the madad-i ma'āsh grants, charities and waqf in the provinces came under the sadr's purview. He checked the temptation of the grant holders to enroach on the khālisa land. He also ensured that

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1. Akbarnāma, II, p.372. Besides Bihar other appointments were: Hakim Abul Fath (Delhi, Malwa and Gujarat); Shaikh Abul Faiz Faizi (Agra, Kalpi, Kalinjar); Qazi Ali Badakhshi (Punjab); Hakim ʿAin-ul-Mulk (Bengal).

2. Ibn Hasan, p.276.

3. S.Hasan Askari, 'Bihar in the Time of Aurangzeb' JBRS 31, pt.ii 1946, p.168. For the jurisdiction of the sadr, also see Rafat Bilgrami, Religious and Quasi-Religious Departments of the Mughal Period (1556-1707 A.D.), Delhi, 1984, p.35.

4. Ghulam Husain, Seiṙul Mutākherīn, Lucknow, 1866, II, pp.828-29. Though the work was written in the second half of the 18th century, the author's account of the provincial officials and their functions pertains to the Mughals, which he compares with the contemporary situation. He was familiar with the administration of Bengal and Bihar. Evidences from this source have been used here and else where from his description about the Mughal government.

after the death of the grantee, the grants were resumed under his orders.[1] He was also to keep a watch on the qāzīs who were supposed to help him in his duties.[2]

QĀZĪ:

There was a qāzī in each sūba[3] who was concerned with the judicial matters in the province. Muhammad Masum was appointed as the qāzī of Bihar by Akbar.[4] A number of references to the appointment of qāzīs ~~are available~~ are available in different sarkārs and parganas. Mir Jumla Khan Khana, was appointed the qāzī of Patna in Aurangzeb's reign.[5] Numerous farmāns respecting the appointments of the qāzīs are still available from different parts of Bihar.[6] The qāzīs were invariably given madad-i ma'āsh grants for their services.[7] As late as the beginning of the 19th century Buchanan found the qāzīs working in the parganas with limited powers.[8]

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1. Seir Mutākherīn, II, op.cit., pp. 827-28.
2. Rafat Bilgrami, op.cit., p.35. Also see Seirul Mutākherīn, pp. 827-28.
3. Saran, pp. 362-72.
4. Badauni, II, p.277.
5. Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, III, pp. 711-12.
6. K.K.Datta, Firmāns, Sanads and Parwanas, op.cit.,pp. 25-26,29,75-76,80-81,86-87,121,122.
7. See Chapter on Land Grants (infra).
8. Buchanan, Bihar and Patna, op.cit., I,pp.89-260; Shahabad Report, Patna, 1934, pp.52,60,63,72-73,77-80, 86,105,131,140,146.

FAUJDĀR:

Our information on the faujdār in the suba shows that he was an important functionary of the sūba. It is very difficult to find the exact jurisdiction of each faujdār in the sūba. The Ā'īn says that the jurisdiction of this officer extended over a group of parganas.[1] According to Saran, there was to be one faujdār in each sarkār and that the sarkār was the fiscal as well as administrative division.[2] However, the evidence in contemporary sources about the appointment of the faujdārs in Bihar do not support this. In Bihar, we find the faujdārs in Tirhut, Bhagalpur, Chainpur, Darbhanga, Saran, Arrah, Sasaram, Bhojpur, Shahabad and Makrain, Siris & Kutumba, etc.[3] Thus the jurisdiction of a faujdār varied from a single pargana to a number of parganas and even to a whole sarkar and at times it covered more than one sarkār.[4] Sometimes the jurisdiction extended to the

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1. Ā'īn, p. 283.

2. Saran, pp. 88-109.

3. See Table E for the list of the faujdārs and their jurisdictions. The specimen papers of appointment of the faujdārs from 18th century show that he could also be appointed to a pargana see Q.Ahmad, "Provincial Officials & c." op.cit., p. 353.

4. See N.A.Siddiqi, "Faujdar and Faujdari under the Mughals", p. 25.

territories of two sūbas.[1] Under Shahjahan it appears that a new administrative unit consisting of a few parganas called chakla was introduced. Each chakla was placed under one officer called amīn faujdār.[2] But we do not come across any such appointment in Bihar. In Bihar the most frequent faujdārī appointments in the contemporary sources relate to Tirhut, Darbhanga, Bhagalpur, Palaman and Rohtas. Frequent references for these areas are due to the strategic importance of these regions, situated as they were near the territories of the autonomous chiefs, in hilly and forest tracts, who frequently took up arms against the Mughal government.[3] This is testified to by an 18th century source where the territorial jurisdiction of the faujdārs has been described with reference to Bihar and Bengal. We are told that the faujdārs were appointed in each sūba according to its area and the number of refractory zamīndārs.[4] The same source

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1. Ikhlas Khan's faujdārī jurisdiction, referred to in one inscription of 1636-37, was in the parganas of Makrain, Siris and Kutumba in Bihar and to Banaras in suba Allahabad, (see Q.Ahmad, Corpus of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions of Bihar, Patna, 1973, pp. 235-238).

2. N.A.Siddiqi, p. 25.

3. See the Chapter on Zamīndārs and Chieftains .

4. Seirul Mutākherīn, II, pp. 831-32.

tells us that the number of the faujdārs in the sūba of Bihar was eight.[1]

The faujdār's primary function was to maintain law and order within his area and to suppress rebellions.[2] He appointed a number of thānadārs with troops in his jurisdiction for effective control of the territory.[3] The faujdār also performed some judicial functions in some cases.[4] The faujdārs were asked to help the revenue officials in the collection of revenue only when a written request to this effect was made by ʿāmil.[5] His duties included giving protection to the travellers on highways, checking crimes and coping up with the external aggression.[6] Mirza Khan, the faujdar of Darbhanga, received all praise from Aurangzeb in 1665-66 for defeating the chief of Moorang (Nepal).[7] After the death

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1. Ibid., p.832. The names given are those of 8 sarkārs of of the sūba but it seems that there were the regular faujdārs and additional ones were appointed in sensitive regions.

2. N.A.Siddiqi, 'Faujdar and Faujdari under the Mughals', pp.31-32; for the supression of rebellions of zamīndārs see Seirul Mutākherīn, II, pp.831-32.

3. Ā'īn, p.83; Q.Ahmad, "Provincial Officials", pp.353-54; N.A.Siddiqi, p.28.

4. N.A.Siddiqi, pp. 33-34.

5. Āīn, p.283. Also see N.A.Siddiqi, pp.34-35.

6. Āīn, p.283. The same functions are given in a specimen appointment order of the faujdār in the 18th century (See Q.Ahmad, "Provincial Officials", pp.353-54).

7. Q.Ahmad, "Origin and Growth of Darbhanga Raj' IHRC V,36, Chandigarh, 1961, pt.II, p.96.

of the said faujdār, his post was given to his brother Masum Khan[1] in recognition of his services.

At times big jāgīrdārs were assigned faujdārī duties as well in areas under their jurisdictions.[2] The faujdārs were forbidden to exact arbitary taxes and forbidden cesses.[3] But it seems that in the early 18th century they were realizing certain taxes. In 1724, it was reported to the Emperor Muhammad Shah from the pargana of Goa (sarkār Saran) that due to the demand of abwāb-i faujdārī and other illegal cesses, the peasantry was fleeing, where upon orders were issued to stop such collections immediately.[4]

The place of the faujdār in the provincial heirarchy depended on the rank of the person holding the charge. It seems Fedai Khan, the faujdār, of Tirhut and Darbhanga, in 1700 A.D., held the highest mansab (3000 zāt/25000 sawār),[5] among the faujdārs who served in the sūba. The appointment

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1. Ibid.
2. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, pp.295-96.
3. Q.Ahmad, "Provincial Officials", p.353.
4. K.K.Datta, Firmans, p.50.
5. Ma'āsir-e-Ālamgīrī, p.433; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, I, p.564. Seirul Mutākherīn, informs us that the faujdār could held a mansab of 1000 to 4000 sawār (II, pp.831-32).

of such a high mansab-holder shows the importance attached to this office. The importance of this office is further established by the fact that Fedai Khan and Tarbiyat Khan (1677) were appointed the faujdārs of Tirhut and Darbhanga after the end of their respective tenures as governors of the sūba.[1] Probably the faujdārī of Tirhut and Darbhanga was considered very sensitive because of the perennial brushes with the zamīndārs (chiefs) of Nepal hills.[2]

QILA'DĀR:

The office of the qiladār was considered very important. These qiladārs were appointed by the emperor and held substantial mansab. However, very little is known about the functions and position of this office. Bihar had three important forts where a regular garrison was maintained viz. Rohtas, Patna and Munger. While our contemporary sources frequently refer to the appointment of the qiladār for the fort of Rohtas, there is hardly any information about the other two forts.

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1. Ma'āsir-i 'Ālamgīrī, pp.157,433; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, I, p. 564.

2. As noted earlier, Mirza Khan the faujdār of Darbhanga, waged war against the raja of Moorang (Q.Ahmad, Darbhanga Raj, op.cit., p.96). The Armenian merchant Hovhannes (1682-93) was stranded in Nepal for sometime because the two sides were at war (see Levon Kachikian, 'The Ledger of Merchant Hovhannes Joughayetsi', Journal of the Asiatic Society, VIII, No.3, 1966, pp. 161-62).

It is quite possible that the fort of Patna was under the direct command of the subedār and is referred to as his headquarters[1]. About Munger fort it is not clear, whether, during the reign of Akbar, there was a qiladār or the faujdār of Munger looked after it. Todar Mal, during his compaigns against the rebels of Bihar and Bengal, made Munger fort his headquarter[2]. But it appears that during the last years of Akbar, the fort was not used as garrison[3]. Later, Prince Shuja' made it his headquarters for a long period. De Graaf (1670)[4] and Marshall (1670-71)[5] found it being used a garrison and under the charge of a senior officer. Perhaps it continued to be used as a garrison intermittently. In the last years of Aurangzeb's reign we come across the appointment of Mahmud Khan (1703) and Muhammad Beg Khan (1704) as the faujdār and qiladār of Munger respectively[6]. Mir Qasim made

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1. When Afzal Khan, the governor of Bihar (1608-11) left for Gorakhpur for somework, the fort of Patna was put under the charge of the bakhshī and dīwān who could not defend it against some rebels (See Tuzuk, pp.83-84; Iqbālnāma pp. 42-44.

2. Akbarnāma, III,p.307; Badauni, II, pp. 282-84.

3. Latif in 1605-06 found it in a state of decay because Munger was not a garrison then. See 'Travels', op.cit., p.600.

4. C.E.A.U.Oldhan, 'An old Description of the Monghyr Fort', BPP, Vol.27, No.54, 1924,pp.157-58. When Graaf visited Munger Mirza Muhammad was the qiladār (Graaf calls him governor).

5. Marshall, Travels, pp. 75-78.

6. S.Hasan Askari, 'Bihar in the Reign of Aurangzeb', JBRS, Vol.32, op.cit., pp. 175-76.

it his headquarters in the eighteenth century. The early British records also show that the Munger fort ~~was~~ had some kind of independent administration.

Information about the fort of Rohtas is available in some detail. It is described in contemporary sources as one of the strongest forts of India.[1] Sher Shah is said to be the first Afghan who captured it,[2] and it continued to be in the possession of the Afghans till Akbar captured it in the 21st regnal year (1576).[3] Muhibb Ali Khan Rohtasi, in the same year, was appointed the qiladār of the fort and remained as such for a long time which earned him the appellation of 'Rohtasi'.[4] He held a mansab of 4000.[5] It seems he held the same post till his death in 996 A.H. (1589).[6] His son Habib Ali Khan served as his deputy. Man

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1. Akbarnāma, II, p.243; III, p.104; Badauni, II, 73, Tabaqāt II, pp.185-86. Tabaqāt describes its length as fourteen kos and breadth 3 kos (Ibid). Buchanan, however, found the remains in an area of 5 miles in length and 4 miles breadth (Shahabad Report, pp.108-10) Abul Fazl says that it has several villages inside, which yield sufficient provisions for the garrison (Akbarnāma, III, p.104).

2. Akbarnāma, II, p.243.

3. Akbarnāma, II, p.243; III, pp.189, 198; Tabaqat, II, pp. 185-86; Badauni, II, p.182.

4. Akbarnāma, III, p.198, 536; Tabaqāt, II, 437; Ma'āsir-al Umarā, III, pp. 277-80.

5. Tabaqāt, II, p.664.

6. Ma'āsir-al Umarā, III, pp. 277-80.

Singh, during his compaigns in Bihar and Bengal and his governorship of the sūba (1598-1604), spent a long time in the fort of Rohtas.[1] Most of the buildings inside the fort were constructed during his stay there.[2]

We have no information regarding the administration and jurisdiction of the qiladār for the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir, but an inscription of Shahjehan's reign (1637-38) throws some light;[3] it records that in 1637-38, the office of the qiladār of Rohtas was held by Ikhlas Khan and that he was also the faujdār of the territory extending from the parganas of Makrain, Siris and Kutumba to Banaras. Further, his jagir consisted of parganas chaund (Chainpur) Mangraur, Tilothu, Akbarpur, Belonja, Bijaigarh and Japla. About two hundred years later, when Buchanan visited Rohtas in 1811-12, he found the fort under the authority of an officer called 'Kelahdar' (Qiladār) to whom a number of parganas were assigned for its maintenance.[4] The list of the parganas given by Buchanan tallies with the parganas listed in the above inscription of 1637-38. In addition to these, Buchanan's list also included the parganas of Kera, Dungat,

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1. Akbarnāma, III, p.649; Tuzuk, p.65.
2. Q.Ahmad, Inscriptions, pp.134-35,164-65,235-37.
3. Ibid., pp. 235-38.
4. Shahabad Report, pp. 108-09.

Chargana and Palamau.[1] Many parganas common in this above inscription and Buchanan's list are included in the pargana list of sarkār Rohtas in the Āīn. As already noted in chapter one, the sarkar of Bihar was divided into Rohtas and Shahabad. It seems that this division was on the basis of the jurisdiction of the qiladār; ~~the~~ sarkār Rohtas was placed under his charge because all the seven parganas described to have been in the sarkār of Rohtas in a revenue manual, have also been mentioned in the inscription.[2] Buchanan says that a dīwān with considerable authority mananged the affairs on behalf of the qiladār.[3] Another officer of importance, according to Buchanan, was called hazārī (because he commanded 1000 horses),[4] whose post was hereditary. Perhaps he was a subordinate of the qiladār. But under the Mughal

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1. Buchanan says that all the parganas were in Shahabad, Ramgarh and Mirzapur (Shahabad Report, pp.108-09).

2. Cf. Kāghazāt, Add.6586 op.cit., ff.99a,148a. For Bihar it has two revenue lists which are assignable to 1712-33. The lists include the parganas of Haveli Rohtas (It is not given in the inscription but probably it was the area inside the fort which, in anycase, was under the qiladār), Chainpur, Sahasram, Siris, Kutumba, Japla and Belonja.

3. Buchanan, Shahabad Report, p.108. The inscription of 1637-38 refers to some Malik Wisal who supervised the fortification and was the dārogha of Rohtas (Q.Ahmad, Inscriptions, pp. 235-38). Probably this dāroghā in due course came to be known as dīwān.

4. (Shahabad Report, pp.108-09) He says that the holders of this office (hazārī) were originally. Rajputs but converted to Islam later. The son of the last holders of this office gave Buchanan all the information.

mansab system, there was no provision for hereditary mansab. It seems that after the death of Aurangzeb, with the weakening of the central control, the office acquired a hereditary status. The evidences for the appointment of the qiladārs under the Mughals show that the post was not hereditary though sometimes it could be given to the incumbent's son.[1] Two risālas of matchlockmen, having 2000 troops each, were also stationed there.[2] The garrison gave rise to a township and a market.

The large number of the parganas assigned to qiladār yielded substantial revenue as is evident from the revenue-paying capacity of these parganas.[3] Such huge revenue must have gone to the keeping of a large number of troops. The zamindārs of sarkār Rohtas were also supposed to muster the largest number of troops amounting to more than one-third of the total troops of the zamindārs in the sūba in

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1. See the list of qiladārs (Table D) Bayazid Beg was the qiladār in 1632-33 and his son also held the same post (Q.Ahmad, Inscriptions, pp. 235-38).

2. Buchanan, Shahabad Report, pp. 108-09.

3. The sarkār of Rohtas (7 parganas in all) in 1712-19 had a revenue paying capacity of 3,54,27,351 dāms and pargana Palamau, 1,31,50,000 dāms. For the revenue paying capacity of these in 1595-96 see the Chapter on Land Revenue (infra).

1595-96 (Rohtas contributed 4,550 cavalry and 1,62,000 infantry)[1]. Perhaps the Mughal government wanted zamīndārs to extend help in case of any crisis.

KOTWĀL:

The kotwāls were appointed in the towns to perform a number of duties. For Bihar, we get reference to Kotwāl for the town of Patna only. There must have been kotwāls in other important towns also, but contemporary accounts do not mention them. The Āīn gives the duties of the Kotwāl in detail. He was to keep the watch and ward in the town, take care of the heirless property, prevent crimes and check standardization of weight, measures and currency.[2] It seems that the muhtasib, an officer created during Aurangzeb's reign, was made incharge of weights, measures and market.[3] But a glossary prepared at the end of the 18th century by the officials of the East India Company describes him as superintendent of markets also.[4] That the Kotwal also

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1. Āīn, pp. 422-23.
2. Āīn, pp. 284-85.
3. Seir-ul Mutākherīn, II, p.830.
4. British Parliamentary Papers, III, Glossary, p.14.

performed municipal functions is evident from ~~the~~ Marshall's account of the famine at Patna. Marshall gives the figures of the dead, based on the report of the kotwāl's office, and points out that the disposal of the dead was his duty.[1] The office of the kotwāl of Patna was in Alamganj.[2] The only name of the kotwāl, which has come down to us, is one-Fazil who was the kotwāl of Patna in Aurangzeb's reign (around 1703).[3]

OTHER OFFICIALS:

Besides these key officials, there were a number of other officers in the sūba.

The 'Āmil or 'Amalguzār were appointed to each and every sarkār and pargana of the sūba. Their duties are described in detail in the Āīn.[4] Besides their involvement in the land revenue administration,[5] he could punish robbers &

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1. Marshall, pp.149-56. It seems that Marshall is referring to the disposal of dead as a duty of kotwāl due to natural calamity or in cases of unclaimed bodies.

2. R.R.Diwakar, Bihar Through the Ages, Delhi,1959,p.511.

3. S.Hasan Askari, 'Bihar in the time of Aurangzeb', JBRS 32, pt. II, 1946, p.176.

4. Āīn, pp. 285-88.

5. The role of the 'āmil in the land revenue administration has been described in the Chapter on land Revenue.

miscreants, maintain law and order and act as kotwāl if there was no kotwāl in the sarkār[1]. The supression of turbulent zamindars was also entrusted to him. For example, the ʿāmils of pargana Dangri (1699) and Pargana Bal (1701) in sarkār Saran were instructed by separate orders to punish the zamīndārs for their disorderly behaviour.[2] Saran refers to the shiqdār also, as an administrative officer of the pargana performing similar functions as the ʿāmil.[3] Irfan Habib is of the view that the shiqdār in the Āīn has been used as a synonym for the ʿāmil and elsewhere as an officer of the pargana.[4] There is no reference to the shiqdār as a regular administrative officer of any pargana in the sūba of Bihar. All the imperial orders in the parganas were addressed to the ʿāmil.[5] The reference of the shiqdārs from Bihar is from an inscription in the Rohtas fort where a

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1. Āīn, p. 288.

2. Datta, Firmans, pp. 38, 40.

3. Saran, p.291. Aniruddha Ray also does not make any distinction between the functions of the two but refers to them as separate officers of the pargana. (See Anirudha Ray, Some Aspects of Mughal Administration, Delhi, 1984, pp. 121-22.

4. Agrarian System, pp. 274-76.

5. Datta, Firmans, pp. 38,40,46,50,105.

certain building was constructed by the orders of Man Singh under the shiqdārī of Purohit Shridhar and Gopal Das.[1] Perhaps the shiqdar was an agent of the jāgīrdār.

The mīrbahr was the incharge of the of the river transport, who supervised the custom-houses situated on the riverside.[2]

MINT:

The organisation of mints has been described by Abul Fazl,[3] but a near complete picture emerges only when we combine the former with the account given by Hedayatullah Bihari (c. 1715).[4] Though the latter's account is with reference to the mint in the sūba of Orissa, it would be quite fair to accept it for allmost all the provincial mints in the Mughal Empire. Abul Fazl says that silver and copper coins were minted at Patna as in other provinces.[5]

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1. Q.Ahmad, Inscriptions, pp. 185-87.
2. See Ahmed Raza Khan, 'Mughal Administration and Trade in the suba of Bihar', PIHC, Bombay, 1980, pp.310-16.
3. Āīn, pp. 10-13.
4. Cf. Hedāyatullāh Bīhārī, Hedāyat-al Qawā'id, Aligarh University Collection, No. fārsiya 108, ff.47a-49b.
5. Āīn, p. 27.

It seems that Asaf Khan was the first officer to act as a general supervisor of the Patna mint in 1574.[1] But the day to day working was looked after by the dārogha of the mint (dār-ul zarb), under whom served the melter of the refined metal (gudāzgār), the zarrāb (who cutt off the ingnots to the size of the coined money), the engraver (who engraved the dies of the coins on steel) and the sikkachī or sikkazan (who stamped the pieces of the metal with the help of a hammerer (putk-chi). Apart from these craftsmen, one peshkār and one tahvīldār also worked under the dārogha.

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1. Akbarnāma, III, p.227.

TABLE A

Provincial Governors - Bihar

Akbar

No.	Name	Year	Source
1.	Khan-i Azam Mirza Aziz Koka	1580-84	A.N., III, 378, 422; M.U., I, 675-93.
2.	Said Khan	1584-85	A.N., II, 423; M.U. II 403-08.
3.	Said Khan and Mirza Yusuf Khan	1585-86/87	A.N., III, 511,525
4.	Man Singh	1587-94	A.N., III,525,576; M.U., II, 160-70
5.	Said Khan	1594-98	A.N., III, 650,711,749, M.U., II, 403-08
6.	Abul Qasim Namkin	1598-99	A.N.,III, 748
7.	Asaf Khan	1604-05	A.N., III, 834 M.U., I, 107-15
8.	Mirza Aziz Koka	1605	A.N., III, 839

A.N. - Akbarnāma

M.U. - Ma'āsir-al Umarā

Note - For the Governors under Akbar also see S. Hasan Askari, 'Bihar in the time of Akbar, the article published in two parts in B.P.P., L XIV, No.127, 1944,pp.31-42; B.P.P., LXV, No.128,1945, pp. 7-28

Table A Contd..

Jahangir

No.	Name	Year	Source
1.	Lala Beg Baz Bahadur, Jahangir Quli Khan	1605	Tuzuk, 9, 39, 54 M.U., I, 512-14.
2.	Islam Khan	1606-07	Tuzuk, 55-56; M.U., I, 18-20
3.	Afzal Khan	1607-11	Tuzuk, 68, M.U., 1, 115-17; Iqbālnāma, 33.
4.	Zafar Khan	1611-14	Tuzuk, 113; M.U., II, 655-56.
5.	Ibrahim Khan	1614-15	Tuzuk, 154-55.
6.	Jahangir Quli Khan, II	1616-17	Tuzuk, 185, 244.
7.	Muqarrab Khan	1617-19	Tuzuk, 244; Iqbālnāma, 117,178; M.U., III, 379-82.
8.	Prince Parvez	1620-25	Tuzuk, 327; Iqbālnāma, 176, 179, 197.
9.	Mirza Rustam Safavi	1625-27	Iqbālnāma, 280; M.U., III, 434-42.

Tuzuk - Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī

Iqbālnāma - Iqbālnāmā-i Jahāngīrī

M.U. - Maāsir-al Umarā

Table A Contd...

Shahjahan

No.	Name	Year	Source
1.	Khan-i Alam	1627	Lāhorī, I, (i), 125
2.	Saif Khan	1627/28-32	Lāhorī, I, (i), 228,426
3.	Abdullah Khan	1632-39	Lāhorī, I, (i) 426; I, (ii), 74,208; II, 101,110,136.
4.	Shaista Khan	1639-43	Lāhorī, II, 136,248, 307; M.U. II, 690-706.
5.	Itiqad Khan	1643-47	Lāhorī, II, 357,583
6.	Azam Khan	1647-48	Lāhorī, II, 605
7.	Saeed Khan Bahadur Zafar Jang	1648-51	Wāris, 12; M.U., II, 429-37
8.	Allah Quli Khan	1651-52	Wāris, 189
9.	Jafar Khan	1652-56	Wāris, 249, 347-48
10.	Zulfiqar Khan	1656-57	Wāris, 347-48
11.	Qasim Khan	1657	Athar Ali, 87-92
12.	Ikhlas Khan	1658	Athar Ali, 87-92
13.	Prince Dara Shukoh Bahadur Khan Baqi Beg (Dy)	1658	Athar Ali, 87-92 M.U., I, 444-47

Lahori - Bādshāhnāma, vol. I in 2 parts & vol. II.

Waris - Bādshāhnāma

M.U. - Maāsir-al Umarā

Athar Ali - Provincial Governors under Shahjahan', Medieval India a Miscellany, vol. III, 1975, pp.87-92.

Table A Contd...

Aurangzeb

No.	Name	Year	Source
1.	Daud Khan Qureshi	1658-65	Ālamgīrnāma A(.N.),286, 878, M.A., 37
2.	Yadgar Beg/Lashkar Khan/ Jan Nisar Khan	1665-69	A.N.,878, 972; M.A.,71, M.U.,III, 170-71.
3.	Ibrahim Khan	1669-73	M.A.,71,M.U.,I,295-301
4.	Amir Khan / Mir Miran	1673-76	M.A.,148; M.U., I, 277-78
5.	Tarbiyat Khan Barlas	1676-77	M.A., 148, 157
6.	Prince Muhammad Azam	1677-78	M.A., 157, 168
7.	Saif Khan/ Saifuddin Muhammad	1678-81	M.A., 169; M.U., II, 479-85.
8.	Saifi Khan	1681-83	M.A., 226
9.	Buzurg Umaid Khan	1683-93	M.A., 348; M.U., I, 453-54. Athar Ali, 107-110
10.	Mukhtar Khan	1693-95	M.A., 369 Athar Ali, 107-110
11.	Fedai Khan	1695-1702	M.A., 369, 433, 437; M.U., III, 33-34
12.	Shamsher Khan Qureshi	1702-03	M.A., 470

Table A contd...

No.	Name	Year	Source
13.	Prince Azim-us-shan Sarbuland Khan (Dy)	1703-07	M.A., 470 Athar Ali, 107-10

A.N. - Ālamgīrnāma

M.A. - Maāsir-ul-Ālamgīrī

M.U. - Maāsir-al Umarā

Athar Ali -"Provincial Governors Under Aurangzeb", Medieval India a Miscellany, vol. I, pp. 107-110.

For the governors, also see S. Hasan Askari, "Bihar in the time of Aurangzeb" the article was published in three parts in J.B.R.S, vol. 31, pt.IV, 1945, pp. 244-61; vol. 32, pt. I, 1946, pp.56-72; vol. 32, pt. II, 1946, pp. 155-181.

TABLE B

Diwans

Name	Year	Source
Mulla Taib	1578-80	T.A., II, 515; M.T., II, 366.
Purshottam	1581	M.U., II, 771-73
Rai Patr Das	1587	A.N., III, 511; M.U., II, 139-41.
Rai Ram Das	1596	A.N., III, 670.
Rai Kishansur	After 1597	Askari, Akbar, II, 9-28.
Ghiyas Zain Khani	1610	Tuzuk, 83-84; Iqbālnāma, 42-44.
Mukhlis Khan	1624	Iqbālnāma, 222; M.U., III, 428-30.
Aqidat Khan	1629	Lāhorī, I (i), 245.
Bani Das	1646	Lāhorī, II, 408.
Musavi Khan	1683-86	M.U., I, 453-54; M.U., III, 633-36.
Mir Husain	1694	Askari, Aurangzeb, III, 166.
Siadat Khan	1700	Askari, Aurangzeb, III, 169.
Ahmad Ali Khan	1701	- do- , 170.
Abdul Qasim Khan	1702	-do - , 171.
Murshid Quli Khan	1703	-do - , 175.

TABLE C

Bakhshīs

Name	Year	Source
Purshottam	1579	Tabaqāt, II, 515, A.N., III, 284.
Abdur Razzaq Mamuri	1586-87	A.N., III, 511.
Sharif Sarmadi	1592	A.N., III, 601.
Mukhtar Beg	Before 1599	A.N., III, 739.
Ulugh Beg Kabuli	After 1599	A.N., III, 739.
Iradat Khan	1607	Tuzuk, 55-56.
Shaikh Husain Banarsi	1610-11	Tuzuk, 83-84; Iqbālnāma, 42-44.
Mirak Husain	1615	Tuzuk, 145.
Sultan Mahmud	1617	Tuzuk, 189.
Abdur Rahim	1683-86	Askari, Aurangzeb, III, p. 164.
Ali Raza	Before 1694	Askari, Aurangzeb, III, p. 165.
Mirza Khalil	Before 1703	Askari, Aurangzeb, III, p.176.
Mohammad Baqr	1703	Askari, Aurangzeb, III, p. 176.

TABLE D

Qiladār's of Rohtas

No.	Name	Year	Source
1.	Muhib Ali Khan Rohtasi	1576-88	A.N., III,198, 460,536; Tabqāt, II, 664
2.	Ikhlas Khan Shaikh Ilahdiya	1608	M.U., I, 198-99
3.	Kishwar Khan	1608-12	Tuzuk, 68; M.U., 198-99
4.	Syed Mubarak	1624-25	Iqbālnāma, 222
5.	Bayazid Beg	1632-33	Q.Ahmad, Inscription pp.235-38
6.	Ikhlas Khan	1636-38	Ibid., 235-38
7.	Neknam Khan	1665	Ālamgīrnāma, 876.
8.	Hizbr Khan	1666	M.U., III, 946.
9.	Mir Inayatullah	Before 1702	Askari, Aurangzeb,III, pp. 155-81.
10.	Abdul Qadir	1702	Askari, Aurangzeb,III, pp. 155-81.

TABLE E

Faujdārs

Name	Year	Place	Source
Farrukh Khan	1580	Darbhanga	Diwakar, 491
Kishwar Khan	1612	Rohtas	Diwakar, 492
Khwaja Ahmad Samarqandi	1623	Munger	Ambashtya, 235
Mukhtar Khan	1628	Munger	M.U.,III, 409-13 Diwakar, 494
Shujaat Khan	1628	Tirhut	Diwakar, 494
Atish Khan Deccani	1640-43	Bhagalpur	B.N., II, 180 M.U., I, 89
Khwas Khan Bakhtiyar Deccani	1644-45	Tirhut	M.U., I, 774-75
Sazawar Khan Mashhadi	1657-59	Tirhut	M.U., II, 438-41 M.U.,III, 557-60
Abul Maali	1659	Tirhut	M.U.,III, 557-60
Khwaja Nasir	1659	Rohtas	Askari, I, 256-57
Mirza Khan	1659-64	Darbhanga	Askari, I, 256 Q. Ahmad, Darbhanga, p.96.
Abul Maali	1664-65	Darbhanga	M.U.,III, 557-66
Bahadur Khan	1659	Chainpur	Askari, I, 257
Mukhlis Khan	1659	Saran	Askari, I, 258
Mangali Khan	1661-66	Palamau	Askari, I, 258; A.N., 972
Marhamat Khan	1666-67	Arrah	A.N., 972; Askari, II, 56
Mir Razi Uddin	1661	Saran	Askari, I, 258
Saadat Khan	1664	Shahabad	Askari, II, 56-57.

Table E Contd...

Name	Year	Place	Source
Maasum Khan	1664-70	Tirhut	Askari, II, 59
Saadat Khan	Before 1666	Arrah	Askari, II, 56-57
Marhamat Khan	After 1666	Arrah	Askari, II, 56-57
Hadi Khan	1670-77	Tirhut & Darbhanga	M.A., 157 Askari, II, 59
Askar Khan	1670	Arrah	Askari, II, 59
Tarbiyat Khan	1677	Tirhut & Darbhanga	M.A., 157 M.U., II, 930
Hamid Khan	1681	Bhojpur	M.A., 207
Shaikh Abrahim	Before 1681	Sasaram	Askari, III, 161
Shaikh Ibrahim	After 1681	Bhojpur	Askari, III, 161
Ibrahim Khan	1691	Shahabad	Askari, III, 164
Sepahdar Khan	1693	Darbhanga	Askari, III, 165
Ahmad Khan	1694	Arrah	Askari, III, 164
Abul Hasan	Before 1696	Bihar	Askari, III, 168
Mohammad Salah	1698	Palamau	Askari, III, 169
Fedai Khan	1700	Tirhut & Darbhanga	M.A., 433 M.U., I, 564
Mukhlis Khan	1701	Saran	Askari, III, 169
Shamsher Khan	1701-02	Shahabad	Askari, III, 170-71
Mirza Asmatullah	1702	Saran	Datta, 38-39
Mahmud Khan	1703	Munger	Askari, III, 175-76
Beg Khan	1704	Munger	Askari, III, 175-76

A.N. - Ālamgīrnāma

B.N. - Bādshāh Nāma (Lahori)

R.R. - Diwakar, Bihar Through the Ages, Delhi, 1959.

Askari's Article was published in three parts see list of Governors.

CHAPTER III

AGRICULTURE

EXTENT OF CULTIVATION:

We do not possess direct positive data to determine the area under the plough in the sūbā of Bihar during the period under study. However, some idea about the relative extent of cultivation may be formed with the help of whatever information we can obtain from our contemporary sources.

In the Ā'īn-i Akbarī, the Chapter entitled "Account of the twelve subas", contains detailed area statistics, including those of Bihar. For the sūba of Bihar figures are available in bīghas for the measured land (zamīn-i paimūdā); this being the total of the figures set out under ārāzī column for the sarkārs (broken down further into figures for the parganas). But there are no area-figures for Munger. For the remaining sarkārs also there are a number of parganas for which no ārāzī has been furnished. In all, out of 199 parganas, ārāzī for 139 have been given.[1]

But we must understand first what the term ārāzī signified : Moreland thought that it represented the total

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1. Ā'īn, I, pp. 417-23.

cropped area' and, therefore, the figure which the Ā'īn gives as ārāzī should be taken as the actually measured area.[1] Irfan Habib, however, is of the opinion that the ārāzī included not only the cultivated area but also current fallows, cultivable waste and some portions of uncultivable land such as land under habitation, tanks, nālās, desert and jungle.[2] Shireen Moosvi has calculated that this uncultivable waste was around 10% of the ārāzī or measured area.[3]

The second problem is whether the parganas in Bihar for which ārāzī is given were fully measured or not. Since the Mughal government measured the land for the purpose of revenue assessment, the revenue figures (jama') may also be of some help in this respect. One possible way to work it out is to find the jama'/ārāzī ratio (j/a) and the percentage of ārāzī to the map area (a/m). Normally, a high jama'/ārāzī should suggest low level of measurement, while

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1. W.H.Moreland, 'The Agricultural Statistics of Akbar's Empire', Journal of U.P.Historical Society, II,1919, pt.I, pp. 1-39.

2. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, pp. 5-6.

3. Shireen Moosvi, 'Magnitude of Land Revenue Demand and the Income of the Mughal Ruling class under Akbar' Medieval India - A Miscellany, Vol.IV, p.101.

a high jama'/map area should indicate that much of the cultivated area had been measured. This has been worked out in Table I.

As our Table I shows, j/a ratio of all the sarkārs of Bihar is exceptionally high, fluctuating between 60 to 78 dāms. The j/a of the sūbas where measurement to a great extent was complete and the method of revenue assessment was based on measurement, detailed dastūr-rates are also given for these sūbas such as Awadh, Agra, Delhi and Lahore, the j/a in these sūbas is around 30 dāms per bigha. As for a/m in Bihar, our table I shows the highest ratio for the sarkārs of Bihar and Hajipur (16.91 & 16.52 respectively), and the lowest (2.38%) for Champaran. It is difficult to accept that such a small area was cultivated in a province which was well known for its natural bountiness. It appears from j/a and a/m that the ārāzī given in the Ā'īn is not complete for Bihar. Therefore, it may be suggested that if a pargana did not have a large area figure or no figure at all, it does not necessarily mean that the extent of cultivation in these areas was low : it is possible that the cultivated area was not measured.

Now, we come to the ārāzī figures available for Aurangzeb's reign. These are given in two sources : one is a dastūr-al 'amal (post-1696 A.D.) which gives the total

number of villages being 55,376, out of which 31,340 were measured having an area of 1,27,53,156 bīghā-i daftarī (85,02,104 bīghā-i Ilāhī).[1] Another set of area-figures is given in the Chahār Gulshan. Though written in 1759-60, it reproduces the revenue figures of Aurangzeb's reign.[2] The area-figures and number of villages given in both the sources closely conform to each other. The advantage of the Chahār Gulshan is that it gives sarkār-wise figures for measured land. But here also, out of a total of 260 parganas, measurements of 151 parganas are not given. For Munger, no area figures are given in the Āīn. On the other hand, the Chahār Gulshan provides no measurement figure for Tirhut, Champaran and Hajipur. It is, therefore, not possible to find out the total increase in the measured area compared to the Āīn.

However, a comparision of the measured area in the sarkār of Bihar, Saran and Rohtas may be made for which area-figures are given both in the Āīn and the Chahār Gulshan

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1. Frazer, 86, f.59(b). The area-figures in the Āīn are given in bīgha-i Ilāhī, while the unit used in the later statistics is presumably the bīgha-i daftarī (two-third of a bīgha-i Ilāhī). which was current in the reign of Shahjahan (see Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p.3 & Appendix 'A').

2. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p. 3.

(see Table II). This table shows that the increase in the measured area of the above sarkārs was around four times during the course of one century, while the increase in the total measured area of the sūba is more than three times. This measured area under Aurangzeb comes to less than a fourth of the total cultivable area recorded in 1897-98 for the corresponding territories.[1]

The increase in the area seems very large especially when we compare it with the neighbouring sūbas of Allahabad and Awadh, where the increase in the measured area comes to 1/2 and 2/5th respectively of the 1909-10 area figures of cultivable area.[2] This large increase in the measured area of Bihar sūba may be attributed to two reasons: first, measurement of a smaller area during our period of study (31,340 villages were measured out of a total of 55,376 during the last years of Aurangzeb's reign);[3] secondly, clearing large forest area, especially in the sarkārs of Munger and Bihar in the post-Akbar period. In the sarkār of Bihar, the total increase in measured area between 1595-96 and Aurangzeb's reign, was around 4.75 times (Table II).

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1. Agricultural Statistics of India, 1897-98 to 1901-02, pt. I, pp. 54-58. The total cropped area in 1897-98 (on conversion into bīgha-i Ilāhī) comes to 3,95,91,829 bighas as compared to 81,55,895 (bigha-i Ilāhī) of Aurangzeb's reign.

2. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p.12.

3. Frazer, 86, f. 59(b).

The main reason for this seems to be the extension of measurement and clearance of forest in some parts of the sarkārs. This was more extensively done in the 18th and 19th centuries.

The increase in the land revenue between 1595 and the last years of Aurangzeb's reign can also be of some help. The total jama' of the sūba in 1595-96 was 22,19,19,404 dāms which rose to 40,71,81,000 dāms by the end of the 17th century.[1] The increase in this case is less than double. A number of factors, such as the rise in prices, extension of cultivation and increase in the commercial activities would have been responsible for this increase. We will also have to concede that extension was from more fertile lands to less fertile, thus yielding less revenue from the extended cultivation. Even than it may safely be assumed that cultivation could not have increase more than two-fold in the course of one century. The large increase in the area-figures is perhaps mostly due to the extension of measurement and not cultivation. As for the total cultivable area or the land under the plough is concerned, nothing can be said with certainly in the present state of our knowledge.

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1. See Chapter on Land Revenue (infra).

TABLE I

sarkār	Jama' (j) 1 in dāms	ārāzī (a) bīgha-i Ilāhī	Map area (m) 2 bīgha-i-Ilāhī	j/a per bigha (dāms)	% of a to m
1. Bihar (measured) 3	7,49,04,990	9,53,587	56,36,266.6	78.63	16.91
2. Champaran	55,13,420	85,711	36,01,066.6	64.32	2.38
3. Hajipur	2,60,60,435	4,36,951	26,44,266.6	60.55	16.52
4. Tirhut	1,73,03,662	2,66,464	69,42,933.3	65.96	3.84
5. Saran	1,57,72,304	2,29,052	42,96,533.3	68.65	6.58
6. Rohtas	3,45,65,016	4,37,330	68,97,066.6	73.62	6.86
7. Munger	2,96,25,981	-	82,61,333.3	-	-

NOTE:- The jama' and ārāzī figures for this table are the Calculated totals of the pargana level figures which have been collected with two earlier manuscriptw of the Āin (Br.Mus.Add.6552 and 7652).

1. The jama' of the parganas for which ārāzī is not given, has been excluded from the total.

2. The map area has been taken from Irfan Habib, Atlas, p.VII, where it is stated in sq. miles (1 sq.miles = 640 acres; 1 bīgha-i Ilāhī = .59 acres. See Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, pp. 3 & Appendix A.)

3. For the sarkār of Bihar, Irfan Habib (Atlas, p.VII) gives separate map area for the measured parganas which has been used in the table. However, the total area of the sarkār was 17,209 sq.miles and % to ārāzī 5.19.

TABLE II

Chahār Gulshan*

Sarkār	Pargana s			Area in bigha-i Ilāhī	Pargana s			Area** in bigha-i Ilāhī	Increase in area
	Measured	Unmeasured	Total		Measured	Unmeasured	Total		
Bihar	32	13	45	9,53,587	40	18	58	45,27,098	4.74 times
Saran	16	1	17	2,83,051	22	5	27	8,25,237	2.91 times
Rohtas	13	5	18	4,73,330	4	3	7	6,96,850	4.12 times
Shahabad***	-	-	-	-	9	3	12	12,54,245	
Total	61	19	80	17,09,968	75	29	104	73,03,430	4.32 times

* Figures of the Chahār Gulshan have been collected with the 4 manuscripts lodged in the Maulana Azad Library, AMU (Abdus Salam Collection 292/62 ff.74-75; Abu Muhammad, 69F, ff. 57. Jawahar Mus. Coll.81-JF,ff. 38-40; Univ. Coll. 78F. f.60 and the English translation by J.N.Sarkar, India of Aurangzeb, 1901, pp.134-35.

** The figures in Chahār Gulshan are given in bīgha-i daftarī which was two third of the bigha-i Ilāhī.

*** Some time after the compilation of the Āīn Rohtas was divided into two Rohtas and Shahabad.

SOIL:

The sūba of Bihar possess ; different types of soil. Physiographically the broad diff ence with the upper Gangetic plain is the great development o: khādar whereas most of the northern plain is bhangar. Darbh ga, the Chotanagpur plateau and the hilly tracts of south Mu er have red & yellow soils.[1]

IMPLEMENTS OF CULTIVATION:

There is no information i the contemporary literature of the 16th & 17th centuries reg :ding the implements of cultivation issued in this regic . The most important agricultural implement was the plouc driven with oxen like in other parts of India (called ha or hal in Bihar), was also prevalent here.[2] The use of iro share is indispensable for harder soils and was used t oughout India in the 17th century,[3] and there is every rea n to believe that it was used in Bihar also. The ninete th century accounts refer to the use of hal in every dist ct of Bihar and describe, it as being very light with a s ll iron share which would

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1. E.Ahmad, 'Soils of Bihar', ıe Geographer, Summers, 1954, p. 20.
2. R.K.Chaudhary, Mithila in t ɛ Age of Vidyapati Varanasi, 1976, p. 193 &n.
3. Irfan Habib, Agrarian Syste , pp. 24-25.

not dig very deep.[1] In this connection it is to be noted that the deep digging plough is not suitable for most Indian soils.[2] The hal consisted of four parts: the plough share, a triangular piece of wood covered with iron which cuts the soils, to this is fitted the wooden handle which directs the plough, and the pole which fits into the centre of the yoke. The yoke rests on the animal's neck and is kept in its place by pieces of leather.[3] A single pair of oxen was capable of ploughing 5-6, acres of land in a season.[4]

Drill sowing was also an old practice in India.[5] Barbosa mentions the use of seed drill in Bhatkal for the sowing of rice. It was like a plough driven by oxen but plough share was replaced by a hollow (tube), which carried

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1. Buchanan, Bihar and Patna in 1811-12, II, pp.531-32; W.W. Hunter, A Statistical Account of Bengal, London, 1877, Vols.XI, pp.118-19, 128-29; 296; XII, pp.96,240-43; XIII, pp.107,278-79; XIV, pp.130-31, 342. Reginald Heber noted in 1824-25 that the plough with yoke was simple, with iron coulter and carried by peasant on his shoulder, Narrative of a Journey through the upper Provinces of India, I, p.137.

2. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p.24. Also see Harbans Mukhia, 'Agricultural Technology in Medieval North India' paper presented at seminar on "Technology in Medieval India - 16th to 18th century", (Calcutta) 1984.

3. See Hunter, A Statistical Account of Bengal, op.cit., Vol.XII, p.96. Also see George A.Grierson, Bihar Peasant Life, reprint, Delhi, 1975, pp. 1-5.

4. Hunter, Vol.XI, 118-19, 128-29; 296 XII, 96,240-43; XIII, 107,278-79.

5. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p. 25.

the rice.[1] Though there is no reference to such drills in Bihar in the 16th & 17th centuries, the one described in Bihar was similar to this. In Bihar it was generally called tar or chonga.[2] It was like a plough but had a small iron spike in place of plough share. It also had a long hollow bamboo with a funnel-shaped mouth from where the seed was poured in.[3] Another common method was broadcast sowing. In a 17th century Persian tract on agriculture, the practice of dibbling is referred to for cotton cultivation.[4] Here a pointed peg was pushed in the ground and after putting the seed in the hole it was covered with earth. Though the reference is not particularly for Bihar, but being a prominent cotton producing region, this practice would have also been adopted here.

Harrow was not used but the implement used instead, throughout Bihar, was a heavy plank attached with ropes to

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1. The Book of Durate Barbara (1500-1517), tr. M.Longworth Dames, Hakbuyat Society, reprint, London, 1967, Vol.I, p. 192.

2. Buchanan, Bihar and Patna, pp. 531-32; Grierson, Bihar Peasant Life, op.cit., pp. 4-5.

3. Hunter, XII, p.241; Grierson, pp. 4-5.

4. Amanullah Khan Husaini, Nuskha dar Fan-i Falahat (Cf. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p. 25,n.)

bullocks that crushed the clods. It generally had 2 pairs of oxen and some times only one pair.[1] One or two persons would stand on the plank to provide extra weight for making it effective. It was called henga, chaukī or kural in different regions.[2]

Other small implements used for agriculture were mattocks and spades for digging, Khurpī (small hoe) for weeding, and a sickle for harvesting.[3]

As for manure, the north Bihar, rich in saltpetre, would have had a reasonable quantity of Nitrogen in the soil which served as a good manure. Buchanan also refers to the sweepings of the roads and walls impregnated with nitrous salts used as manure for vegetables and seedlings of rice near the villages.[4]

Moreover, in Bihar the emphasis was on watering rather than manuring, cow dung was the main source of manure.

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1. Buchanan, Bihar & Patna, II,pp.531-32; Grierson, pp. 6-7; Hunter, XII, pp.96,241; Harbans Mukhia, however, refers to the use of a single pair of oxen see "Agricultural Technology & c." op.cit.

2. Grierson, pp.6-7; Hunter, XII, pp. 96,241.

3. Buchnan, Bihar and Patna, pp. 531-32; Grierson, pp.5-6, 12-13.

4. Buchanan, Bihar and Patna, p. 533.

Sheep-folding was also practised to enrich the field with their waste.[1] Refuse of the steeped indigo plant called siti,[2] was also used as manure mostly by the indigo cultivators.

IRRIGATION:

Most of the agriculture in Bihar depended on rain. Dependence on rain was to such an extent that a single rain failure could cause havoc, as was the case in 1670 when the kharif crop totally failed for want of rains.[3] The high rain fall regions of Tirhut, Patna and Bhagalpur,[4] are chiefly rice producing zones.

Besides, rain, a number of methods for irrigating land were used. River water was mostly used through the inundation channels. These channels were dammed with weirs made of earth called bandhs; and the water was carried by means of water courses which were often a few miles in length to large reservoris and stored until required for use.[5]

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1. Buchanan, Bihar and Patna, p. 533; Hunter, XI, p.305.
2. Ibid.
3. Marshall, Travels, pp. 149-53.
4. For the rainfall in different regions see Chapter I.
5. Buchanan, Bihar & Patna, pp.533-35; Hunter, XI,pp.28-29.

We do not get any reference to canals in Bihar during the period of our study, but Buchanan in 1811-12 refers to the presence of canals[1] while Hunter in 1877 noticed that there were no canals except the Son canal which till them was under construction. Hunter refers to water courses (pains) which were often many miles in length. It seems that Buchanan's reference to canals is to these pains which were innudation channels which by some human efforts were made to take river water at desired places. Buchanan gives the manner of irrigation by these canals and some reservoirs. "During the height of the floods, these canals and reservoirs afford a supply, by merely allowing the water to flow on the field through sluices, which usually consist of a hollow tar tree, the end of which is filled with clay, when it is intended, that the water should be confined. In thecanals the water is raised to the level of each man's sluice by a small temporary dam of earth. Towards the end of the season the water must be raised by from both reservoirs and canals by machinery."[5] The construction, repairs and administration of the various irrigational devices was

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1. Bihar & Patna, pp. 534-35.
2. Hunter, XII, pp. 249-50.
3. Ibid.
4. Buchanan, Bihar & Patna, p. 534.
5. Ibid., p. 534.

the responsibility of the zamīndārs of the respective localities. This information, though given in the later sources, suggests that this must have been a long established practice.

We also come across big dams which were used for irrigation purposes. Abul Fazl mentions a big dam on the river Pun-Pun.[1] Archaeological remains also suggest the presence of a dam and its use for irrigation.[2] Archeological surveys have also brought to light a number of masonry tanks. The ruins of a 17th- century masonry tank near Maner are still present. This tank had an area of around five acres and it was filled with water of the Son by a sub-terraneous tunnel.[3] A number of smaller tanks have also been reported from Bihar, one of these was used to irrgate a mango grove.[4] Numerous ponds were made while digging the ground for making earthern houses, or were dug especially to collect the rain water. Mundy in 1632 on his way to Patna remarked:[5]

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1. Akbarnāma, III, p.83.

2. See M.M.Kuraishi, List of Ancient Monuments Protected under Act VII of 1904 in the Province of Bihar and Orissa, Calcutta, 1931, p. 193.

3. Buchanan, Bihar & Patna, p.87; Kuraish, List of Monuments Protected Under Act VII, p.64. Also see Ancient Monuments in Bengal, Government of Bengal, Calcutta, 1896,pp.242-43.

4. Q.Ahmad, Arabic and Persian Inscriptions, pp.145-46, 238-40, 285-86.

5. Travels, II, p. 132.

"These 10 or 12 days wee had in our waie many small tanks not of stone work, only the earth taken out and layed round about to make a receptacle for water in tyme of rain."

Large number of lakes in Bihar were formed on the old river courses when the river changed to a new one.[1] The land which turned temporarily into lakes in the rainy season were later on used for winter crops. Abul Fazl refers to large number of lakes in Rohtas and Tirhut.[2] Latif while going through Rohtas in 1608 noted that "on its top several thousand bighas of land are cultivated besides several gardens. Some tanks full of water and flowing springs are contained within it."[3]

There were different methods for lifting water from open surface depending on the amount of water and the height it was to be taken. When the water was to be carried to a small height two methods were used: First when the quantity of water was small, changer, sairs or dhas was applied. In this method two persons stand opposite to each other holding strings tied to a basket and throw water to the desired side.[4]

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1. O.H.K. Spate, op.cit., p. 565.
2. Ain, p. 417.
3. A. Latif, "Travels in Bihar, 1608 A.D.", tr. J.N. Sarkar, JBORS, Vol.5, 1919, p. 598.
4. Buchanan, Bihar & Batna, II, p.534; Grierson, p.210, see the photograph between pp. 208-09.

When the quantity of water is substantial, says Buchanan, then a machine like 'canoe' is used. Buchanan does not give the details of the method, perhaps it was spoon-lever process described by Grierson, called don or karin. In this device, a long log of wood hollowed like a spoon or boat is suspended by a lever fixed on a pole, the lever at the other end is weighted with mud. The spoon is immersed in water by applying pressure by foot, and raising by its own balance, discharges water along its stem to a higher surface.[1] The highest convenient lift was 4 1/2 feet and in one hour 500 cubic feet of water could be raised.[2]

Irrigation with the help of well was widely practiced in the Gangetic basin in Mughal India. In Bihar, wells are used for winter crops. In the Chotanagpur plateau, well irrigation due to rocky stratum is ruled out and the only method practiced was the storage of rain water and also an indigenous system of irrigation based on gravity flow.[3] In the tribal regions of Munger, mainly Santhal Pargana, wells were not dug as late as 1824-25. The people there did not have even the implements for digging wells. Therefore, the

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1. Grierson, p.210 and photograph between pp. 208-10.

2. Hunter, XII, pp. 242-43.

3. E.Ahmad, 'The Rural Population of Bihar', Geographic Review, Vol.51, 1961, p. 261.

region was totally dependent on rain water.[1] In Bihar, mainly three types of well come to our notice.

Kacha wells were the most common, in such wells the earth taken out and it worked only for one season. During the rains, it was again filled with earth. These were common in the regions where water table is high, which was the case in most of north Bihar & Rohtas. About Rohtas, Abul Fazl says that "whenever the land is dug for four yards, water is visible"[2]. Cultivation of various crops in large quantity in Rohtas region may be ascribed to this easy avaialability of water.[3] Digging kacha wells was a very simple device. It was reported about Gaya (19th century) that the workers who started digging in the morning were irrigating the fields by the same well at 4 p.m. and water was at the depth of just 8 feet.[4]

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1. Regionald Heber, op.cit., I, p. 128. Also Hunter, XIV, pp. 345-46.

2. Ain, p.417. Also see Badayuni, Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, p.78. For well irrigation in different districts of Bihar, see Hunter, XI, 28-29, 235,305; XII, 105-07, 249-50, XIII, 227-28, 227-28; XIV, 32-33.

3. Akbarnāma, III, p. 104.

4. Hunter, Vol. XII, p.106. In Chapter the average depth was found 15-20 feet, Hunter, XIII, 227-28.

Another type of well was the one lined with earthen tiles which provided durability and could work for a few years.[1]

The third variety were the masonary wells lined with bricks which could work for very long. In the district of Bihar very large wells with steps called bāolī are also reported.[2] The masonry wells needed a heavy investment and it was not possible for small cultivators to use them. A nineteenth century estimate of the three varieties of wells in Saran was Kachdha wells - Rs. 1 annas 4 per man's height. (At two or three man's height water was available);[3] wells lined with earthen ware: Rs. 40; and pakka wells - Rs.400 to 500. Due to huge investment, masory wells were more common in the gardens of the rich or in towns.[4]

Lifting of water from wells involved a number of techniques. The most simple method was by a bucket tied to a rope but this could be used in small plots of vegetables, etc.

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1. Grierson, p.205, Hunter, XI, p.305, XIII, p.284.

2. Hunter, XI, p.129.

3. Hunter, XI, p. 305. Some other estimates were A Kacha well in Tirhut Rs.3 (Hunter, XII, p.28). In Champaran Rs. 3 to 40 these were for Kacha and filed wells (Hunter, XIII, p.284).

4. Atleast 20 masonary wells belonging to the 17th century were noted in Khurramabad, a deserted town (See Q.Ahmad, Inscription, pp. 208-11).

The most common 'machine' used was dhãnklī or lāthā which is found in use in the whole of Bihar. In this device, a long rope is attached to the bucket at one end, and the other to a bamboo lever, which moves on a pole (fulcrum). One end of the lever is weighted with a log, stone or lump of clay. When the water is required, a man standing by the pole pulls the rope till the bucket is immersed; as soon as the tension is released, the weight attached to the lever raises the bucket which is emptied by the same man.[1] There could be two, three or more levers fixed to one well.

Another device employed for lifting water from the well was called charas in other parts of India and moth in Bihar. In this method a leathern bucket hung on a rope (the bucket was made from a single cow's hide) which passed over a pulley, and was attached to two bullocks, who ran on an inclined path and pulled up the bucket when filled. One man empties the bucket at the edge of the well and another guided the bullocks back.[2] Buchanan some times found the oxen so trained that they themselves came back.[3] The device was superior to lāthā as it was possible to lift water from

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1. Buchanan, Bihar & Patna, pp.533-36; Hunter, XII, 106,XII, pp. 241-43.

2. Buchanan, Bihar and Patna, pp. 535-36; Hunter, III, pp. 241-42.

3. Bihar and Patna, II, p. 536.

deeper wells and the quantity was also much more. Buchanan compared the two methods at length. A lāthā from a well (36 feet from the water to the surface), drew 1357 lbs. of water in half in houry while in a well 33 feet from the surface to the water, a mot in half in hour drew 7210 lbs. But such a superiority was not acceptable to people in general who were of the opinion that 3 lāthās wrought by four men were equal to a mot wrought by three men and two oxen.[1] However, Buchanan thought it to be baseless as the water was very close to the surface. Hunter gives a more accurate comperision. The quantity of water raised per hour by moth was 75 to 250 cubic feet while that by Patha was 73 to 96 cubic feet.

The Persian wheel or rahat was nowhere used in Bihar even in the last quarter of the 19th century.[2] Probably due to high water table it would not have been economical to invest money in this device.

HARVESTING, THRESHING, ETC.:

The implements used for harvesting were very commonly used through out India. The sickle or reaping hook with a

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1. Buchanan, Bihar and Patna, p. 536.

2. Grierson, p. 210.

sharp cutting edge was used for harvesting.[1]

The crop after cutting was gathered at the threshing floors. Generally two methods were applied for threshing out the grain. In the first method the crop was beaten with a stick to separate the grain. In the second method bullocks were driven in circles on the spread up crop.[2] The weight and movement of bullocks treaded the grain. After the crop was trodden, the husk was separated by winnowing.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION:

Contemporary Persian and European sources speak very highly of the ferility of the soil and agricultural production.[3] Bihar has three harvest seasons - namely, Bhadai (autumn), Aghanī (winter) and Rabī[4] (summer). A large variety of grains, fruits, spices and other articles were produced in the sūba.

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1. Grierson, pp. 15-16.

2. Reginald Heber, Narrative of a Journey & c., Vol.I, p.139; Grerson, pp. 189-96.

3. Āin, p. 416. Sujan Rai, Khulāsat-ut Tawārīkh, p.46; R.Fitch & E.Terry, Early Travels in India, ed. W.Foster, London, 1921, pp. 23-24, 295; Thomas Bowrey, A Geographical Account of the countries Round the Bay of Bengal, ed. R.C. Temple, p. 221.

4. Spate and Learmonth, p. 567.

FOOD CROPS:

Rice occupied a preeminent position amongst the crops of Bihar. The northern region, with an annual rainfall of 60", a low lying area having numerous streams and marshes, is most suitable for rice cultivation, which till the present day, amounts[1] to 50% of the total sown area of the province. Abul Fazl says that the quality and quantity of rice produced in Bihar was rarely to be equalled,[2] Hundred years later Sujan Rai[3] expressed the same view. Buchanan as late as[4] 1811-12 found the rice of Patna celebrated throughout Bengal. Rice was cultivated in two seasons, Aghani (winter) and Bhadai (summer). That of aghani constituted the bulk of the rice produced.[5] Fifteenth century sources from Tirhut region refer to Tulasi and Gola varieties of rich.[6]

No evidence for large scale cultivation of wheat is available in our sources. But we have evidence to show that even during the 14th-15th centuries, wheat was extensively

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1. Spate & Learmonth, pp. 564, 566.
2. Ain, p.416; also see Thevenot, Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri, ed. S.N.Sen, Delhi, 1949, p.96.
3. Sujan Rai, Khulāsat-ut Tawārīkh, p. 46.
4. Bihar and Patna, II, p. 670.
5. Buchanan, Bihar and Patna, pp. 493-96.
6. Likhnawali, letter No.52 cf. R.K.Chaudhary, Mithila &c pp. 573-74.

cultivated.[1] Buchanan during his survey found wheat to be the next important crop after rice.[2] Moreland has discussed this question at length, and he seems right in concluding that there was sufficient production of and trade in wheat in Bihar.[3]

Barley was grown most abundantly inthe central plains,[4] but it was grown, though in small quantity, in Bihar also.[5]

Of pulses, khesārī was extensively cultivated throughout the sūba. Abul Fazl mentions that it was injurious to health, but it was the common food of poor people in this region.[6] In Champaran, māsh was grown without much labour.[7] Other pulses such as arhar, mūng and bringghi might have been also cultivated.

Though the cultivation of maize in the 17th century Maharashtra[8] and Rajasthan[9] has been reported, there is no

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1. R.K.Chandhary, Mithila, p. 193.
2. Bihar and Patna, II, pp. 496-97, 672.
3. W.H.Moreland, India at the Death of Akbar, London,1920, pp.119-20.
4. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p. 32.
5. John Marshall, p.83; Also see R.K.Chaudhary, Mithila, p. 193.
6. Āīn, p. 416.
7. Āīn, p. 417.
8. P.K.Gode, Studies in Indian Cultural History, I, Hoshiarpur 1961, pp. 446-47,450.
9. S.Nurul Hasan, K.N.Hasan, & S.P. Gupta, "The Pattern of Agricultural Production in the Territories of Amber", PIHC, Mysore, 1966, pp. 247-51.

reference to its cultivation in Bihar during the said period. Its cultivation in Bihar in early 19th century was confined to the banks of the Ganges.[1]

CASH-CROPS:

A good deal of cash crops was also raised in Bihar. There seems to be two possible reasons for the large scale production of cash crops: first, the realisation of revenue in cash caused shifting from the low to high grade crops through out India, especially in Bihar. Secondly the European merchants carried on brisk trade in cotton, opium and sugar, and the peasants were quick to follow the market trends.

Fitch (1585) is the first to refer to the large quantities of sugar being exported from Bihar.[2] Abul Fazl mentions the extensive cultivation of sugar-cane of a superior quality in Bihar.[3] Mundy noticed large tracts of sugarcane between Nanbatpur and Patna.[4] At present, its cultivation

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1. Buchanan, Bihar and Patna, II, p. 498.
2. Fitch, Early Travels, op.cit., p. 24.
3. Ain, p. 416.
4. Mundy, Travells, II, p.134; Thevenot, Travels, op.cit., p.96. Buchanan (1811-12) refers to large scale cultivation of sugarcane in Patna, Gaya and Shahabad, Bihar & Patna, II, p.521, Shahabad Report, p. 12.

is concentrated in the Tirhut region,[1] probably because of a large number of sugar refineries in northern Bihar. Cotton was also an important cash-crop of the region. It is surprising that Abul Fazl ~~did~~ does not mention it in his account of Bihar while Fitch as early as 1585 describes large-scale cotton production in the sūba.[2] Mundy (1632) also noticed large fields of cotton between Naubatpur and Patna.[3] Marshall (1670-71) found fields of cotton around Dariapur.[4] Most of the cotton cloth woven in Bihar was produced in places in the vicinity of Patna. The cotton cloth produced here was in great demand ~~from~~ by the European and native merchants. This region, for a long time, remained a centre of cotton production.[5] This indicates how quickly Indian peasants followed the market, and the extent to which Indian agriculture was commercialised in the 17th century.

Opium was yet another important crop of the sūba. Opium finds no place in Abul Fazl's description of the

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1. Spate & Learmonth, p. 568.
2. Fitch, op.cit., p. 24.
3. Mundy, II, p. 134.
4. Marshall, p.77; and also Thevenot, p. 96.
5. Buchanan in 1811-12 found cotton to be the main cash-crop of the district of Patna covering an area of 24,000 bighas (see Bihar & Patna, II, p.520).

agricultural products of Bihar. It seems that in the absence of dastūr rates for the sūba of Bihar, he was at a loss to describe in detail the crops grown in this region. Bihar and Malwa were the two main centres of opium production in Mughal India.[1] In the last quarter ofthe sixteenth century, Patna was the largest exporting centre of opium.[2]

Indeed, opium remained for a long time one of the main cash crops of Bihar. Marshall (1670-71) found it being cultivated in huge quantity. According to him, the opium produced at Patna was the best while that of Munger was inferior.[3] An idea of the amount of opium produced may be had by the remark of Alexander Hamilton around 1700.[4]

> "Patna produces also so much opium that serves all the countries in India with that commodity."

During the 18th century, its ~~is~~ cultivation had greatly increased. The main reason was the competition amongst the

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1. Moreland, India at the Death of Akbar, p.158; Irfan Habib Agrarian System, pp. 44-45.
2. Fitch, op.cit., p. 24.
3. Marshall, p.414. Marshall also describes the process of extracting juice from the plant. The average production, according to him, was around 40 to 50 seers per acre which would sell for 70 or 80 rupees. It is difficult to ascertain the size of the acre of Marshall however Buchanan in 1811-12 gives a more realistic estimate. According to him one bigha (27,778 sq. feet) produced 8 sers in Arwal and 6 sers in Bihar and was priced at Rs. 1.6 & 1.8 per ser respectively see Bihar & Patna, II,pp.522-25. The small difference in the price given by Marshall and Buchanan in the course of 140 years is surprising.
4. Alexandar Hamilton, A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting voyages and Travesl, p.414.

European merchants. By the second half of the 18th century, the English company virtually monopolised the opium trade.[1] Huge amounts of money were involved as advances were made to the cultivators and they were bound to deliver it at specified prices.[2] The British company invested large sums as they found a flourishing market for Bihar opium in China.[3]

Indigo does not appear to be an important crop of the region during the period under review. It was obtained in small quantities and was inferior in quality.[4] It took a eminent position only during the late 18th and 19th centuries when its demand in Europe increased. By the year 1802, in Tirhut, the Indians, English Scots, Irish, Germans and Italians all were involved in the indigo trade,[5]

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1. Benoy Chowdhury, Growth of Commercial Agriculture in Bengal (1757-1900), Vol.I, Calcutta, 1964, pp. 3-45.

2. H.R.C. Wright, East Indian Economic Problems of the Age of Cornwallis and Raffles, London, 1961, p.108.

3. Benoy Chowdhury, Growth of Commercial Agriculture, op.cit., pp. 3-24, Also see Imperial Gazetteer, Vol.XX, p.70.

4. Mundy, II, pp. 151,53.

5. H.R.Ghoshal, "Tirhut at end of the Eighteenth and the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century, 1790-1820", JBRS, Vol. 39, pt. IV, 1953, p.373. Ghoshal also informs that in 1793 there were 9 indigo factories in Tirhut and by 1850 the total number of indigo factories in the district rose to 86. Also see Imperial Gazetter, XVIII, p. 101.

but its cultivation in Patna region declined.[1]

Tobacco was not know in North India in the sixteenth century,[2] but by the first quarter of the 17th century it was extensively sown in India.[3] Its spread in India seems very fast and a revenue mannual belonging to mid-17th century record its presence in Bihar.[4]

No reference to the cultivation of fibre-yielding crops is available from Bihar but there is a hint that during 1661-85, hemp was sent from Bihar to Bhutan.[5]

Pān (betel-leaf) was produced throughout India. The maghī variety of pān produced in Bihar received high praise from Abul Fazl for its fine texture and pleasant taste.[6] It seems to have been famous till the 19th century and had a demand in far off places as Culcutta, Lucknow and Banaras.[7]

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1. Buchanan, Bihar & Patna, II, p.527.
2. A.Jan Qaisar provides very interesting account of tobacco's introduction at the court of Akbar and its subsequent rapid spread in India (See The Indian Response to European Technology and Culture, A.D.1498-1707, Delhi,1982, pp. 118-22).
3. E.Terry, Early Travels, p. 299.
4. Dastūr-al ʿAmal-i ʿĀlamgīrī, Br.Mus.,Add., 6598 (rotograph in the Department of History, AMU Alīgarh, f.36b).
5. C.R.Wilson, Early Annals of the English in Bengal, Vol.I, London, 1895, p. 379.
6. Āīn, p. 416.
7. Buchanan, Bihar and Patna, II, pp. 526-27.

SPICIES, FRUITS AND FLOWERS:

Pepper, Ginger and Turmeric were the main spices produced in the region. In the eastern region, Bengal was the chief producer of pepper but Bihar also produced large quantities of long pepper.[1] Abul Fazl mentions that the long pepper grew wild in the forests of Champaran.[2]

Ginger was also produced plentifully. The bulk of the produce was put on the market for export. The Dutch were the main purchasers of this commodity who in turn sold it in Bengal and also exported to Europe.[3]

Bihar had a fair yield of Turmeric. Though its cultivation in the sūba has not been referred to by the Ain or any of the European travellers, the English factory records show large purchases of turmeric in Bihar. In a register of papers relating to the East India Company, it is mentioned in the list of commodities procurable from Patna.[4] In 1676, the English company purchased 1800 maunds of turmeric,[5] while in 1682 the total amount of turmeric purchased

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1. Thevenot, Travels, p. 96.
2. Ain, p. 417.
3. Cf. English Factories in India 1646-50, ed. W.Foster, p.338.
4. Cf. C.R.Wilson, The Early Annals of the English in Bengal, op.cit., p. 379.
5. Streynsham Master, The Diaries of Streynsham Master, ed. R.C.Temple, Vol.II, London, 1911, p.64.

by the English from Patna was 200 tonnes.[1]

A variety of fruits were grown in the sūba. It was common practice with the members of aristocracy, officials and rich people to have orchards. Marshall, for example, refers to Jafar Khan's garden at Patna and Prince Shah Shuja's garden near Munger.[2] Jafar Khan's garden near Patna in 1824-25 was described by Bishop Heber as 2-3 miles in circuit, having abundance of palms and fruit trees.[3]

Mango was the most abundantly cultivated fruit of the sūba. Mundy, on his way to Patna noticed "a million of mango trees in plots and groves on both sides" of the road.[4] Marshall on his way from Patna to Rajmahal saw large number of mango groves at Munger, Bhagalpur, Nawada and Dariapur.[5] One inscription of 1553 refers to a large orchard of mango in the town of Bihar.[6]

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1. Susil Chaudhuri, Trade and Commercial Organisation in Bengal (1650-1720), Calcutta, 1975, p. 263.
2. Marshall, pp. 75-78.
3. Reginald Heber, Journey through the upper provinces of India, op.cit., Vol.I, p.140.
4. Mundy, II, p.134.
5. Marshall, pp. 75, 121-22, 125.
6. Q.Ahmad, Inscriptions, pp. 145-46.

Orange was another important fruit produced in the sūba of Bihar. In the sarkār of Tirhut, their number was very large. According to Abul Fazl, groves of orange trees extended to a distance of thirty kos.[1]

Hajipur was famous for Kathal (Jack fruit) and Barhal. Kathal, Abul Fazl says, were very big in size.[2] Marshall speaks of grapes he ate in singhée[1a] which grew at Hajipur.[3]

The spread of Pine-apple cultivation was remarkable in India. It was for the first time introduced in India during the sixteenth century by the Portuguese, and by the end of the century it became a common fruit in Bengal.[4] In the second half of the 17th century, Bihar produced fine varieties of pine-apple.[5]

The banana was one fruit which was grown on large scale in every house.[6]

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1. Ain, p. 417.
2. Ibid.
3. Marshall, p. 142.
4. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p.50. Also see A.Jan Qaisar, Indian Response to European Technology, p.122.
5. Thevenot, p.96. He is also praise for the good variety and nice taste of pine-apples produced in Bihar.
6. R.K.Chaudhury, Mithila & c., p. 193.

Coconut was yet another fruit produced in the sūba.[1] Its production in the extreme south of the sūba seems to be more extensive. Tavernier in that region found most of the houses thatched with coconut leaves.[2]

Grafting of fruits in India, according to Gode, was introduced by Portuguese.[3] By the time of Shahjahan, it had become very common.[4] Though we do not have any specific reference for Bihar but its practice in Bengal[5] may suggest that it was in use in Bihar as well where Prince Shuja' and other nobles maintained gardens.

Toddy trees were seen by Marshall near Dariapur and Bhagalpur.[6] Its juice was used for preparing sugar and tārī, an intoxicating juice made after fermentation.[7]

There is very little information about vegetables and flowers grown in the sūba. Probably they were considered

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1. Mundy, II, 134.
2. Tavernier, Travels, op.cit., II, p. 84.
3. P.K.Gode, Studies in Indian Cultural History, op.cit., I, pp. 439-54.
4. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p. 51.
5. Ibid.
6. Marshall, pp. 77,121, Also see M.Martin, Eastern India Vol.II (being the survey of F.Buchanan), reprint, Delhi, 1976, pp. 155-56.
7. George Watt, Dictionary of the Economic Products of India, Vol.I, Calcutta, 1889, p. 497.

as having no specific commercial significance by the contemporaries. Babur[1] refers to beautiful lotus flowers in Arrah. Abul Fazl mentions a flowers Muchākand which grew at Maner (near Patna) which was very fragrant and resembled the flower of Dhatura.[2] Kewra also grew in Bihar which was used for preparing perfumes.[3]

FOREST PRODUCTS:

Forests supplied a number of commercially important products, Lignum aloe produced in Bihar was such a product which was used for medicinal purposes, and large quantities were exported to Europe.[4] Its wood was used for making walking sticks, cups and other vessels.[5]

Lac was also obtained from forests. In 1621, around 200 maunds of lac were purchased by Hughes and Parker, the members of first English commercial Mission to Patna.[6] But

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1. Bāburnāmā, tr. A.S.Bameridge, reprint, New Delhi,1970, p.666.
2. Ain, p. 416.
3. Ibid., p. 97.
4. English Factories 1618-21, ed. W.Foster, p.200.
5. G.Watt, A Dictionary of Economic Products of India, op.cit., I, pp. 279-81.
6. English Factories, 1618-21, p. 270.

Mundy in 1632 found it expensive and inferior in quality.[1] The English factory papers (1661-85) also refer to Bihar lac as very expensive.[2] Lac yielded a red dye used as sealing wax and also for varnish.

Large tracts of forests supplied wood for building boats, since the sūba was to maintain a fleet of 100 boats.[3] Forests also supplied good quality of bamboo sticks which had a demand in the market.[4]

ACQUATIC PRODUCTS:

Bihar had a large number of rivers, lakes and ponds, which provided good breeding sites for acquatic animals. Fish was the main acquatic product consumed by the people. There ~~was~~ is no contemporary records for the extent of pisciculture during the period under review. At present, however, northern Bihar boasts of having India's largest output of fresh-water fish.[5] The fishes in tanks and lakes were the

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1. Mundy, II, pp. 151, 156.
2. Cf. C.R.Wilson, op.cit., I, p. 379.
3. Āīn, pp. 416-17.
4. Marshall, p. 122. He says that ~~in~~ sticks (lāthīs) were available for one pice.
5. O.H.K.Spate, op.cit., p. 565.

property of the state, and fishing rights were sold to individuals or were given in grants as well.[1] It would have been a good source of state revenue during Mughal India. The oil extracted from fishes was used as medicine.[2] Tortoises were also in abundance and were easten by the poor.[3]

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY:

Animal Husbandry and dairy were established occupations in Bihar. Milch-cattle were specially bred in Tirhut. It also had strong buffaloes in large numbers.[4] Milk and allied products of good quality at cheap rates were in abundance in the sūba, and Tirhut was a great centre of milk trade.[5] Tirhut even in the 18th and 19th centuries held a high reputation for its cattle and these were exported to distant places.[6] Barbary goats were famous in and outside Bihar.[7] They were

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1. K.K.Datta, Some Firmans, Sanads and Parwanas, pp.42,46.
2. Eastern India, I, p.229.
3. Marshall, p. 380.
4. Āin, p.417 Buffaloes were said to have been so savage that they would attack a tiger.
5. Āin, pp. 416-17.
6. There were a number of families whose sole occupation was cattle-breeding which brought them a lot of money. See H.R.Ghoshal, Tirhut at the end of the Eighteenth Century &c', JBRS, Vol.39, 1953, p.373.
7. Āin, p. 416.

bred in large numbers. Marshall speaks very high of the goats of Bihar.[1]

Oxen used in carts for transport of goods were also bred in Bihar. The sūba had a great trade in oxen, a pair of which fetched 4 to 5 rupees.[2]

Fighting cocks and parrots of Bihar were also well known.[3] Migratory birds like snipes, robin red-breasts and wagtayles abounded some places in winters.[4]

WILD ANIMALS:

A large number of wild animals frequented the forests of Bihar. They were endowed with some items of economic importance. Peter Mundy saw some wild buffaloes near Sasaram. Their skins after tanning were used for making buckles, and horns were used to make bows.[5]

Rhinoceros were also common in the woods of Bihar and adjoining forest of Bengal.[6] They were tamed when young. Buckles were made of their skins but were not of good quality

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1. Marshall, p. 377.
2. Ibid.
3. Āīn, p. 416, Marshall, p. 74.
4. Marshall, pp. 73-74.
5. Mundy, II, pp. 170-71.
6. T.Bowrey, p.222. Mundy,II,p.171. Also see EI,II,p.146.

because of the thickness and stiffness of the skin.[1] Their horns were of great use: a number of articles such as cups, rings, churees, circles, or small hoops were made from horns.[2]

Elephant was the most prized animal found in Bihar.[3] The regions of Rohtas and Jharkhand were famous for elephants.[4] Tavernier, on his way to Patna, saw about 130 elephants which were being taken to Delhi for the King.[5]

The tusk fetched good price in the market. In 1670, the price of ivory at Patna was around 55 or 60 rupees per maund of 80 lb.[6] Deer and tiger were also in plenty.[7] The flesh of the deer was consumed as food and skins were used for various purposes.

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1. Mundy, II, p.171.
2. Ibid., pp. 171-72.
3. Ain, p. 416.
4. Ain, p. 132.
5. J.B.Tavernier, Travels in India, I, p. 121.
6. Marshall, p. 413.
7. Ain, p. 417.

C H A P T E R IV

P E A S A N T R Y

It can be safely stated that agriculture in medieval India involved or absorbed the largest number of people at various levels in some way or the other, not only for producing food crops and cash crops but also for animal husbandry which was organically related to agriculture. Since peasants were the the main cultivating class, the basic structure of agricultural organisation was peasant farming. Nevertheless, it does not mean that non peasant farming, that is, cultivation by hired labour was not present. Rich peasants, money lenders, local and provincial officials must have employed wage labour on their land.

In the context of land relation, a perennial debate is whether the peasant in Mughal India was the actual owner of land or just a tenant working on the land of the crown. The contemporary European travellers held the view that the crown was the real owner of the soil.[1] Early British Revenue Officials, too, thought that the proprietory rights in

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1. See Bernier, Travels in the Mogul Empire, tr. A.Constable, London, 1891, pp. 5,204,226; Thomas Roe, The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, 1615-19, ed. W.Foster, London, 1926, p. 105; Nicoleo Manucci, Storia Do Mogor, tr. W.Irwine, II, London, 1907-08, p. 46.

land was exclusively vested in the crown.[1] P.Saran has discussed the question at length and is of the opinion that this misconception on the part of the European travellers arose because of their wrong understanding of the jāgīr system.[2]

The rights of the peasants in the land cultivated by them is clear from the regulations of the Mughal period. In the Āin, revenue officials are cautioned against entering in their records the peasant holdings (raʿīyat kāshta) as 'personally cultivated land' (khud-kāshta) or belonging to the madad-i maʿāsh holders.[3] The well known twelve edicts issued by Jahangir on his accession prohibited the revenue officials from forcibly converting the land of the peasants (zamīn-i riyāya) into their own holdings (khud kāshta).[4] In a period when land was in abundance and cultivators scarce, the land naturally would have belonged to the person who

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1. Cf. Firmingar, Fifth Report, II, pp.737-41, 746-47; British Parliamentary Papers, III, p.452.

2. The European travellers considered the jāgīrdārs as counterparts of feudal lords in Europe. The regular transfers of jāgīrs conveyed the notion to these travellers that the crown owned the land. Cf. Saran, Provincial Government & c., pp. 330-31, 333.

3. Cf. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p. 114.

4. Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī, p.4.

was cultivating and paying the revenue to the state. At any rate, it is not easy to locate a single owner in the raiyati areas.[1]

However, under the Mughals, there were no defined rights of the peasants over land but they enjoyed certain customary rights in the possession of land. No government official or zamindar was empowered to eject a peasant from his land if he regularly paid his revenue. The peasant was regarded as an individual producer and was subjected to a separate assessment.[2]

The agricultural class during the Mughal period may broadly be divided into 3 groups. The first group consisted of the zamindars, money lenders, grain merchants and village or pargana officials. They came under the category of Khud-kashta, and they generally gave their lands to tenants. The second group consisted of rich peasants with larger areas who probably cultivated their land with the help of hired labour or 'semi-serfs'. The third and the largest group of peasants cultivated their small holdings themselves.[3]

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1. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, pp. 114-16.
2. Ibid., p. 119.
3. Ibid., pp. 120-21.

Just before the English East India Company took over the administration in Bihar, there were three divisions of peasants. First, those who had earned a recognized status as the 'head ryot' of the village, secondly, those who were individually termed as khud kāshta raíyat; and thirdly, the vast body of small raiyat.[1] The head raiyat appears to be a group of muqaddams and small zamindars who had superior rights. The head raíyat in Bihar was generally called mahton or jeth raíyat but he was also known by other names in different regions. On Patna and Gaya as mahtoora, in Saran tipdār, in North-East Tirhut as muqaddam, and in Bhagalpur mansar.[2]

A glossary of revenue terms prepared in the late 18th century by the officials of the English East India Company defines muqaddam as head "ryot" or principal man in a village who superintends its affairs and among other duties, collects the rents of the government within his jurisdiction.[3] The muqaddami rights, for example were salable also. In 1578 A.D. 400 bighas of land in village

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1. See R.N.Sinha, Bihar Tenantry (1783-1831),pp.80-83.
2. Grierson, pp. 325-26.
3. British Parliamentary Papers, III, p. 28.

Mamrazpur in pargana Bissara of sarkār Hajipur alongwith the muqaddamī rights was sold for Rs.55 only.[1] Similarly we come across two other sale-deeds (1692 and 1694) oftwo villages in pargana Bal of sarkār x Saran for Rs.184 & Rs. 170 respectively.[2]

The second group claimed its members to be of high caste (ashrāf), traders and big peasants who owned land, but either rented it out or cultivated it themselves during spare time along with their servants.[3] The persons who worked on their fields are mentioned as Jotiyās and kārandagān, a separate class of labourers, who worked as ploughmen etc.[4] The third group consisted of the largest body of peasants who ploughed their lands themselves. At times, there was specialised cultivation also. Koeris, for example was a separate caste of peasants which mostly grew vegetables.[5]

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1. Cf. Sale-deed, Basta No.623, (Muzaffarpur), Bihar State Archives, Patna.

2. K.K.Datta, Some Firmans, Sanads and Parwanas, p.40.

3. Buchanan, Bihar & Patna, I,pp.265-66; II, pp.547-48, 555-57; Shahabad Report, pp. 335-36.

4. Buchanan, Bihar and Patna, I,pp.265-66. For the number of such Ashrāf, traders and jotiyās in 1810-12 see Martin, Eastern India, I,for Patna and Gaya appendix p.5, for Shahabad, Appendix p.45.

5. Buchanan, Bihar and Patna, I, p.333; II, p.507.

They also cultivated opium and were in easy circumstances.[1] It was only after a competitive demand during the latter half of the 17th and 18th centuries that the raiyats of all castes began to cultivate opium.

At the bottom of the social scale of agricultural classes stood generally the 'low' caste people who worked as agricultural labourers.[2] The most important and the largest group of these landless labourers was that of the ploughmen, who were called Kamiyās or Jotiyās in Bihar.[3]

The main agricultural tribes in Bihar were Kurmīs,[4] Dhānuks, Rewānī, kahārs, Torhās, Kharwār, Bhar,[5] etc.

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1. Buchnan, Bihar and Patna, I,p.333; II,p.548; O'Malley, Darbhanga, Calcutta,1907, p.40. Also see H.R.C.Wright, East Indian Economic Problems of the Age of Cornwallis and Raffles, p.108.

2. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, pp.120-22.

3. Cf. Buchnan, Bihar and Patna, II,p.556. For their numbers in Patna and Gaya see Eastern India,I, appendix,p.5 and Shahabad, p.45.

4. Buchnan concedes that they were of pure agricultural tribe but considers them as bowmen (bow-dhanushk) who were militiamen in formal times (Bihar Patna,I,pp.334-35; Also see O'Malley, Darbhanga, pp.40-41). But Irfan Habib, writing about Dhānuks (not specifically in Bihar but in general), says that they were socalled because they husked rice (dhān) (Agrarian system,p.120) Buchanen and Malley's contention is supported by sale-deeds of the slaves dated 1731 and 1775 A.D. where the correct form 'Dhanushk' is used. It seems that these people were bow men in all probability from some tribal race

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They were called Koeris[1] in Shahabad. Dasadhs, Dhanuks (and Koeris)[2] in Darbhanga. Dhangars and beldars[3] in Champaran, dusadhs and mosahar[4] known as kamia in Monghyr.

The presence of landless labourers in Mughal India has been sought to be explained by two factors. In the first place, land being in abundance, the average peasant holding was much larger, which necessiated the use of temporary hands, specially for harvesting. Secondly, the depressed castes assigned the menial occupations could never aspire to the status of land-owing peasants or could afford to cultivate the land on their own.[5] The latter situation was because of their poverty, despite the fact that virgin land was available in abundance. For cultivation, they needed

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(Continued from the previous page)

who used to bear bow and were also engaged as the security men of the zamindars and big peasants (see copies of sale-deeds, nos. 13 and 15 preserved in the Manuscript Section of the Patna University Library).

5. Buchanan, Bihar & Patna, I, pp.337-37; Shahabad, pp.198-99.

1. Ibid., p. 198.

2. O'Malley, Darbhanga, pp.40-41.

3. W.W.Hunter, A Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol.XIII, p.281.

4. Ibid., Vol.XV, pp. 112-13.

5. Cf. Agrarian System, pp. 120-22.

agricultural implements, seeds, means of irrigation, etc. which their poverty prohibited them to possess. In addition, natural calamities i.e., floods, famines, etc. often occuring in Bihar (as we shall see in the following pages) must have transformed thousands of small peasants into landless labourers, because they had to sell their oxen, implements and even children to meet their basic needs.[1] After the catastrophe was over, they had no money to invest for freh tilling.

As we have already seen,[2] Bihar produced large amount of cash crops which required much capital and more labour to look after it. At the same time, absence of 'advanced' mechanical devices for irrgation may have further increased the demand of hired labour. Thus the existence of the large number of landless labourers in Bihar (it is the highest in present day India also) was not surprising what is striking, however, is its rapid growth during the years preceding the ~~introduction of the~~ introduction of the Permanent Settlement. This is explained by the large-scale cultivation of cash crops, mainly indigo in Bihar,[3] wherey the rich peasants managed to obtain more land than they could

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1. For such a famine which hit Bihar in 1670-71 see Marshall, pp. 149-56; Bowrey, pp. 226-27.

2. See the Chapter on Agricultural Production (supra)

3. See Hunter, op.cit., Vol.XIII, p.281.

cultivate single-handed and, therefore, employed the "low" caste people and poor cultivators.

We do not have any information on the wages given to the landless labour during the 17th century. In the first quarter of the 19th century, the usual daily allowance was 3 sers of grain or in some places 1 1/2 to 2 paisas, with 1/2 ser or 1 ser of the unboiled porridge called Sathū.[1]

The demand of agricultural labourers in the 17th century Bihar was so great that a new phenomena, probably alien to other regions, is witnessed here, namely, slavery. The use of domestic slaves in Mughal India was common but their use for agricultural purposes was confined to certain regions of Bihar only.[2] Many slave sale-deeds pertaining to the 16th & 17th centuries are available for the Tirhut region (broadly the whole of the Mithila region).[3]

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1. Buchanan, Bihar & Patna, II, p.557; Shahabad, p.343.

2. Irfan Habib, "Potentialities of Capitalist Development in the Economy of Mughal India", Enquiry, Winter, 1971 pp. 19-20.

3. See Ganga Nath Jha, "A note on Sanskrit Judgement", JBORS, Vol.VII, pt.II & III, 1927, pp.121-22; K.P.Jayaswal, "The Unexplained Passage", Ibid., pp.123-24. For a detailed study of slavery in Mithila see Upandra Thakur, "Some Aspects of Slavery in Mithila, 17th to 19th centuries", JBRS, Vol.44, Pt.I & II, 1958, pp.47-52.

These slaves called bahias in several sale-deeds, were responsible for the tilling of the land, sowing the seeds and reaping the harvest for their masters.[1] One kind of sale-deed was known as Bahikhtā. It was a sort of contract to serve in return for some money which bound the servant to one master alone.[2] Some copies of such slave sale-deeds are preserved in the Patna University Library. The earliest of these belong to 1515 A.D. and others belongto 1647, 1668, 1673, 1731, 1753 and 1775, etc.[3] Most of these documents mention the sale of one single slave giving his/her age, colour, caste, etc. In one deed, however, five persons (2 males and 3 females) of the Dhanushk caste are recorded to have been sold for 36 rupees.[4] One slave sale deed of the 15th century specifies the work of slave to be ploughing and fetching water.[5] The employment of these slaves in agricultural and semi-agricultural purposes continued during the

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1. Upandra Thakur, op.cit., p.52.
2. Ibid., p.50.
3. Copies of slave sale-deeds, manuscript section of Patna University Library, Nos. 6,8,9,12,13,15,27.
4. Ibid., No.15. The sale-deed is dated 621 Lakshman Samvat (1731 A.D.).
5. R.K.Chaudhuri, Mithila in the Age of Vidyapati, pp.375-76.

18th and 19th centuries. There were mainly 3 kinds of slaves in Bihar, viz., domestic slaves, agricultural slaves, and those who were partly employed in agriculture and partly in domestic service.[1]

In many slave sale-deeds, the "low" caste mentioned often is dhanushk. The Dhanushks, who were purely an agricultural tribe, were slaves, largely in Patna and Gaya till the first quarter of the 19th century.[2] The sarkār of Bihar was the region where the dhānuks chiefly resided. Buchanan found atleast 7000 families of the dhānuks in the districts of Patna and Gaya.[3]

Another large agricultural tribe reduced to slavery was that of the Rewāni Kahārs (Maharas in Bhagalpur). According to Buchanan, "nor does any one of them pretend to a free birth." They were estimated to be around 10,000 families in Patna and Gaya in 1811-12.[4]

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1. H.R.Ghoshal, "Labour in early nineteenth century Bihar', JBRS, Vol.32, pt.I, 1946, p.104.

2. Buchanan, Bihar & Patna, I, pp.334-35, Buchnan is of the opinion that all the dhānuks at one time were slaves and many of them were procuring their liberty because of the inability of their masters to maintain them.

3. Ibid., p. 335.

4. Ibid., pp. 335-36.

In Shahabad, these slaves belonged mostly to the rewāni caste but were generally called Kāmkar.[1] Besides, there were Kurmis and a few dhānuks in Arrah.

There were a large number of Muslim slaves also who were employed in agriculture and were known by a separate name --- malazadahs (mawlezād)[2] in Patna, Gaya and Shahabad.

In Patna almost every land owner had his slaves[3] and every cultivator his kamri or half enslaved labour.[4]

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1. Buchanan, Shahabad, p.166.

2. There were around 510 families in Shahabad who were mostly employed in agriculture (Cf. Buchanan, Shahabad pp. 166, 182. Also see Munter, op.cit., Vol.XI, p.123; Vol.XII, p.72).

3. These slaves formed a separate social group and no free person would marry with a slave girl or vice versa. They endavoured to procure for such child a marriage with another of the same social status. We know of a seventeenth century sale-deeds where such slave girls were given for a token price of one rupee or so. One such deed of 1615 reads. "The daughter of my slave Harao by name Padmini, fair complexioned, who is married to your son Srikrisna - I have given unto you. After taking from you one rupee, I have no connection with her (Ganga Nath Jha, "A note on Sanskrit Judgements", JBORS, Vol.VII pt. II & III, 1921, pp.121-22. Also see nos. 8 and 9, copies of slave sale deeds preserved in Patna University Library).

   Two documents of the same nature were found by Vishnu Lal Jha in the Rai Library, Darbhanga, dated 1647 and 1668 A.D. (JBORS, op.cit.,1921,pp.123-24).

4. Hunter, op.cit., Vol.XI, p.123.

TERRITORIAL MOBILITY OF PEASANTS:

Since land was in abundance and cultivators scaree, it is no wonder, if peasants moved from one region to other when conditions at one place became unbearable. There are numerous documents from the Mughal period where the imperial authorities asked the administrative officials to prevent the peasants from leaving the land by inducing them with all facilities.[1] The oft-quoted statement of Babur that "In Hindustan hamlets and villages, even towns are depopulated and set up in a moment,"[2] shows the migratory character of peasantry. For the peasant, with his very few belongings, it was not a problem to move in the face of any adverse situation to other favourable areas. One 16th century reference shows that a Rathor peasant from Marwar settled faraway from his ancestral home in Bihar.[3] At times, the peasants were compelled to abandon their fields due to exorbitant revenue rates as well sundry oppressions. Bernier wrote: "Thus it happens that many of the peasantry, driven to despair by so execrable a tyranny, abandon the

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1. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, pp. 114-18.

2. Bāburnāma, tr. A.S.Beveridge, pp. 486-87.

3. Hasan Ali Khan, Tawārīkh-i Daulat-i Shershāhī, ed. S.A.Rashid, & R.P.Tripathi, Medieval India Quarterly, Vol.I, No.1, July 1950, pp. 3-4.

country, and seek a more tolerable mode of existence, either in the towns or camps; as bearer of burdens, carriers of water or servants to horsemen. Sometimes they fly to the territories of a Raja, because there they find less opression, and are allowed a greater degree of comfort."[1] This is confirmed by Hedyatullah Bihari, who writing in 1714, says that excessive revenue demand is made by the jāgīrdārs on zamīndārs, who in turn practice tyranny on riaya to extort more money. Thus the peasants are forced to take refuge in the territories of the zor talab (rebellious) zamīndārs.[2] Aurangzeb in a farmān (13th regnal year), while appointing the sadr qānūngo of the sūba of Bihar instructs him not to use opressive measures against the peasants and at the same time they were asked to take steps to stop their migration.[3] This is a clear indication of the fact that peasants were harassed by the local officials. Two parwānas of Farrukhsiyar's reign issued in 1712 and 1718

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1. Bernier, Travels in the Mogul Empire, 1656-68, ed. A. Constable, p.205.

2. Hedāyat-al Qawāid, Ms. Abdus Salām, 149/339, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh, ff. 59a-b. Qeyamuddin Ahmad has translated a number of passages from the said manuscripts including the one under discussion here. See "Some Aspects of Social and Economic Behaviour - A late seventeenth century Indian Point of View", Indian Historical Review, Vol. VIII, Nos. 1-2, pp.19-34.

3. H.R.Ghoshal, "Two Mughal Firmans Relating to the Appointment of Sadr Kanungos in Bihar", PIHC, 1958, pp.432-33.

show that the villages of Fatehabad and Meerpur in sarkār Hajipur of sūba Bihar were getting depopulated due to exorbitant revenue rates.[1]

Peasants must have fled as a last resort because it was, in fact no solution of their plight. The working conditions and the government's rates of payments were almost the same throughout the Mughal Empire. They probably deserted their lands only when the oppression became unbearable, and they tried to seek shelter in regions where conditions were more congenial.

Natural clamities such as floods and famines, too, opened the way to exodus. In 1670-71, during one of the worst famines in the history of Bihar, Marshall, on his way from Hugli to Patna. noticed large numbers of fugitives most of whom were making for Dacca, probably in search of non-agricultural jobs, Dacca being a great trading centre at that time.[2]

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1. K.K.Datta, op.cit., pp. 122,126. For such incidents of desolated villages due to inflated rates of jama' 'during mid-18th century (Muhammad Shah's reign), see Ibid., pp. 94,105, 120.

2. Marshall, pp. 114,150.

The folk songs of Bihar give a glimpse of the dread of famine among the peasants. The peasant's wife says: 'My husband! let us sell our bullocks and leave the country if there is east wind in sāwan and a strong west one in Bhādon.'[1] Some other songs show peasants planning to go to distant places in fear of famine. For example, "A cloudless morning on the same day (is a sure sign of drought). My dear (let us leave the country) I will go to Multan and you to Malwa."[2] Another song reads: "If on the same date it thunders at midnight (there will be a drought), you must go to Malwa and I to Gujarat."[3] It is striking that the peasants thought of moving away to such distant regions as Multan or Gujarat from Bihar.

The general condition of the peasantry appears to have been quite miserable throughout India and the same was true for Bihar, too.[4]

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1. Grierson, op.cit., p.280. Saon Ka Purwa, bhadai pachhima jor; Bardha bencha Sami cha de ka or.

2. Ibid., p.277, the text reads:
   Saon sukla saptami, udai Jon dekhe bhan tum jao piya Malwa, hum jaibon Multan.

3. Ibid., p. 278, Saon Sukla Saptami, jon garje adhirat Tum Jao piya Malwa, Ham jaibon Gujarat.

4. For a detailed account of the condition of peasantry in Mughal India, see Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, pp. 90-110.

In Bihar, most houses had roofs of earthen tiles (Khaprel).[1] Tavernier reported that most of the houses in the extreme south of the sūba were thatched with coconut leaves.[2] Describing the dwellings of peasants in Patna and Gaya, Buchanan says that each hut usually consisted of one apartment 11 cabits long by 7 wide."An ordinary family with all its effects is usually squeezed into such a hovel, a wreched shed for cooking, and a hut for the cattle complete a small farmer's dwelling."[3]

The peasant possessed very few belongings. In ordinary houses there was scarcely any furniture except bed-steads, earthem pots and a few crude implements.[4]

Babur wrote of "Hindustan", the region from Bhera to Bihar: "Peasants and the lowly go about completely barefooted. They tie on a thing called lagūta, a dedency clout which hungs two spans below the navel. From the tie of this pendent, another clout, beneath it, is passed between the thighs and made fast behind. Women also tie an a cloth

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1. Tavernier, II, p.84.
2. Bihar and Patna, I, p.279.
3. Ibid., p. 279.
4. Baburnama, tr. A.S.Beveridge, p. 519.

(lung), one half of which goes round the waist, the other is thrown over the head."[1] The clothing of the common man in Bihar had not improved even in the 19th century, and has been described as "half a yard of cloth, and his happiness was complete at getting enough food to keep body and soul together."[2]

As for jewellary, the custom of converting savings into women's ornaments was apparently universal.[3] The poorer sections used ornaments of copper, glass and shells. Fitch was amazed to see diverse ornaments worn by the women in Bihar, "Here the women be so decked with silver and copper that it is strange to see; they use no shoes by reason of the rings of silver and copper which they wear on their toes."[4]

In Bihar, rice being the major crop, it formed the staple diet of the people. Abul Fazl says that the poor in Bihar ate a pulse called khisārī which was unwholesome and used to cause sickness.[5] Buchanan also found that "all

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1. Bāburnāma, tr. A.S.Beveridge, p.519.
2. J.Reginald Hand, Early English Administration of Bihar, Calcutta, 1894, p.64.
3. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p.99.
4. Early Travels, ed. Foster, p.23.
5. Āin, p. 416.

through Magadha", the common food consumed generally by the poor was Khisāri[1], and adds that it was considered very injurious to health. In the present day India also this pulse is given to labourers in many areas of Bihar and Madhya Pradesh. Modern researches have shown that it causes a disease which paralyses limbs if used for long duration.

A large number of rites, festivals and piligrimages were an integral part of the village life. Births, marriage and funerals, too, enlarged monetary burden of the peasants, and most of the times landed him in debt which often subjected to agricultural debt boundage.[2]

In normal times, the peasantry was somewhat comfortable, but it suffered beyond endurance when famine and other natural clamities struck them. We have a detailed eye-witness account of one such famine in 1670-71 when the kharif crop in Bihar completely failed. Ninety thousand persons were estimated by Marshall to have starved to death in and around Patna alone, and many small towns were completely depopulated "having not any person in them."[3] Slaves

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1. Bihar and Patna, II, p.499.
2. U.Thakur, 'Slavery, JBRS, 1958, op.cit., pp.50-51.
3. Marshall, pp. 149-56.

could be bought for four and eight annas per person, and good ones for one rupiya.[1] The poor were compelled to sell their children for petty sums. Marshall was offered boys aged twelve and fourteen for eight annas each, but he purchased one boy for one rupiya.[2] (It may be noted that the price of rice at that time was 6-8 sers per rupiya). As a result of the famine, prices of food grains rose many folds within months. De Graaf, the Dutch traveller, who reached Patna around 1670, found the price of rice "half a six dollar for 6 seer or 9 lb. Dutch weight, while in ordinary years, 60,70 or more lb. could be bought for the same amount."[3] Bowrey also took note of high prices "not withstanding Pattana be soe fertile to afford graine to such a plentiful country as Bangala, yet in the yeare of our lord 1670 they had as great a scarcitie in soe much that one Pattana seer weight of rice (plantifullest grain in the country) was sold for one rupee, the seer containing only 27 ounces, and in a few months, there was none at all to be had at that rate."[4] Marshall gives monthwise detailed prices for 1671 as follows:[5]

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1. Ibid., p. 150.
2. Ibid., pp. 125-26.
3. As quoted by S.A.Khan in Marshall, p. 155.
4. Bowrey, p. 226.
5. Marshall, pp. 149-53.

RICE

Quality	Price	Date
Fine	4 rupees per md.	May, 1671
Coarse	2 1/2 rupees per md.	May, 1671
Fine	4 rupees 7 anna per md.	19th June, 1671
-	5 rupees 5 anna per md.	23 July, 1671
Fine	5 rupees 11 annas per md.	8th August, 1671
Fine	6 rupees 10 2/3 anna per md.	12th August 1671
-	8 rupees per md.	20th August, 1671
Coarse	1 rupees 8 seer	15th September 1671

FLESH

Goat	Price	Date
	2 rupees per md.	May, 1671
	1 rupee for 12 ser	15th September 1671
Beef	1 1/8 rupee per md.	May 1671
	1 rupee for 24 ser	15 September 1671
Wheat	2 1/2 rupees per md.	May 1671
	4 rupees per md.	12th August 1671
Others	Ghi 7 1/2 rupee per md.	May 1671
	Oil 7 rupees per md.	May 1671
	Hens 5 rupees per md.	19 June 1671
	Chickens 8 rupees per md.	19 June 1671

The region of Tirhut seems to be more famine prone and it had to face a series of famines at fairly short intervals (1555-56, 1573-74, 1583-84, 1595-96, 1630 and 1670).[1]

The worst part of these calamities was the callousness of the provincial authorities. Marshall goes to the extent of saying, "yet through Nabobs (Governor) roguery here is a famine and also some thing from the dryness of the last years."[2] Marshall's remark about the then governor is fully corroborated by Thomas Bowrey who had also arrived in India around that time. The Governor and the officials are reported to have done nothing to mitigate the misery of the common people. Bowrey remarks: "And yett, at that time the Nabob's chief wife had several very large store houses full of graive, and would not dispose of any unless they would give the weight of silver in one scale of its weight or rice or wheat in the other."[3]

Besides famine, flood was another major natural calamity which ruined the peasant. During the rainy season, the whole of Hajipur got flooded.[4] The large number of rivers

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1. U.Thakur, "Mithila under Khandalwalas" JBRS, Vol.48, pt. 1-4, 1962, p.77.
2. Marshall, p. 150.
3. Bowrey, p.227.
4. Mundy, II, p.135.

in North Bihar, certainly favoured agriculture, but these rivers were also a source of perpetual sorrow to the inhabitants of the land. The Baghmati, Kamala, Gandak Mahanadi and above all the Kosi, have been notorious for floods.[1] A modern scholar calls the Kosi as the "Hwang Ho of Bihar."[2]

The famine of 1670-71 was followed by devastating rains and floods in 1671 and the river Gandak flowed through the town of Singhia.[3] In 1671, Marshall was told that ten years ago there were such heavy rains that many houses collapsed and 700-800 persons were killed as a result, in Patna alone.[4] Hedges noted in 1684 that "At Pattana they say the whole country is over flown, that they fear this flood will make rice dear, and cause a great scarcity of all provisions."[5]

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1. Ālamgīrnāma, p.514, Also see S.H.Askari, "Bihar in the time of Aurangzeb", JBRS, Vol.31, pt.IV,1945,pp.254-55, U.Thakur, "Mithila under Khadalwalas", op.cit.,p.76.

2. E.Ahmad, "Rural Population of Bihar", Geographical Review, Vol. 51, 1961, p. 265.

3. Marshall, pp.137-38.

4. Marshall, pp. 424-25.

5. The Diary, Vol.I, pp. 159-60.

Apart from natural calamities, the peasantry was at times subjected to very harsh treatment by the provincial officials and jāgīrdārs. The Mughal Emperors time and again instructed the officials not to tyrannise ~~over~~ the peasants. Aurangzeb's farmān to Muhammad Hashim and Rasik das sternly warned the officials against maltreatment of the peasantry. A farmān of Aurangzeb, appointing the sadr qānūngo of Bihar, shows imperial concern for the peasants.[1] When Khatiba, a tyrant official, was oppressing peasantry in Bihar, Muhammad Sadiq Khan was asked to put an end to his activities, which he did successfully.[2] But, as a rule, there was a cleavage between the sound principles of administration and their application in practice. This resulted often in the desertion of peasants who took refuge in other regions.[3]

Apart from the land revenue which constituted the bulk of the produce, peasants were to pay a number of charges to the state and towards social and religious ceremonies in the village. In a report of 1793 by the Collector of Bhagalpur to the Board of revenue, a few of

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1. H.R.Ghoshal, "Two Mughal Firmans", op.cit., pp.432-33.
2. Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā, II,pp.726-27.
3. K.K.Datta, op.cit., pp. 94,105,120,122, 126.

those charges have been listed as customary and were thought to be in practice since long.[1] These were as follows:

'Tulbāna': It was a charge paid by the peasantry towards the daily expense of the messenger who went with the parwāna for the payment of land revenue.

'Jureeby': It was realised from the peasants for measurement.

'Parkiya': It was a payment made by the peasantry to the person who judged the value of the coin and decided the batta or deduction.

'Burmuttar' or Shibbotar: (Brahmautar): It was a charity (worship of Shiva) paid by the peasants to the brahmins in proportion to their respective produce.

'Dowah' (Dawāt Pūjā): This was a religious feast organised once a year for all the literates in a pargana; expenditure on the feast beeing paid by the raiyat.

'Gramor Village Puja': Annual dinner or feast for the worship of the goddess Kālī by Hindus and celebration at the local dargah (shrine) by the Muslims. Peasants had to bear the expenses.

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1. Bhagalpur Records, preserved at Bihar State Archives, Patna, Vol.12, letter dated 6th September 1793.

'Dakhilnavis': A charge paid by the peasants for the person who issues receipts against the deposit as land revenue.

The peasants were not allowed any deductions in land revenue on these charges. The method of collection and disbursement thrown light on the functioning of village community. As it was not possible to rely on the individual peasants for the amount of his contribution, it was, therefore, so devised that the Patwārī was authorised to calculate the amount that each peasant was to pay (according to the his produce). The amount so assessed formed a common fund with the patwārī as its treasurer, disbursed the amount on separate heads. At the end of the year, the patwārī was to submit the statement of expenditure in the present of all the peasants of the village.[1]

Abul Fazl describes the peasantry of Bihar as very submissive who would present themselves on their own for the payment of revenue.[2] But the revenue tables of 1730-31 record two parganas of kot and Ratampur 'sarkar Shahabad) as Ghair ʿamlī meaning thereby that the areas were not paying

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1. Bhagalpur Records, Vol.12, 'Letter of the Collector of Bhagalpur to the President Board of Revenue' dated 6th September 1793.

2. Ain, p. 416.

land revenue.[1] This indicates the rebellious attitude of the peasants in all probability with the convinance of zamīndārs in the above areas. The trend seems to have been continued for long because in the 19th century also the peasantry of Shahabad has been mentioned as very turbulent and would not tolerate any nonsense from the revenue officials and for that matter, even from the zamīndārs. They would not surrender to the unjust demands or illegal exactions of revenue officials.[2] No wonder, then the same region of Shahabad or Bhojpur at present is one of the most important centre in India of peasants' armed struggle led by the Naxalities.

On the whole, the condition of the peasantry deteriorated throughout the 18th century. By the time the English East India Company acquired the dīwānī of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, the peasantry of the region was worse off than in the days of Aurangzeb.[3]

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1. Kāghazāt-i-Mutafarriqa, Add. 6586, ff.148a-b.

2. Final Report on Survey and Settlement Operations in the District of Shahabad, ed. J.A.Hubback, 1919, pp.22-24, Also see R.N.Sinha, pp. 24-26.

3. R.N.Sinha, p.5.

CHAPTER V

ZAMĪNDĀRS AND CHIEFTAINS

Zamīndārs held a very crucial position in the revenue system of the Mughal empire. They have, therefore, attracted an immense attention of scholars of economic and administrative history of the period.

Moreland was the first scholar to examine the zamīndārī system in some detail. He equates a zamīndār with a 'vasal chief' and hance, in his opinion, he could not exist in territories under direct political control of the Mughal state[1]; however, he points out that Bengal was an exception to this practice.[2] P. Saran followed Moreland and declared that zamīndārs could not have been found in all parts of the empire and that they were just 'vasal chiefs'[3]. But this opinion was contested by Irfan Habib who, on the basis of the Āīn-i Akbarī, put the issue in the right perspective by pointing out that the zamīndārs were to be found in every part of the empire.[4]

1. W.H. Moreland, Agrarian System of Moslem India, pp. 122,279.
2. Ibid., pp. 191-94.
3. P. Saran, Provincial Government of the Mughals, p.111.
4. Irfan Habib, "Zamīndārs in the Ain', PIHC, 21st session, Trivendrum, 1958, pp. 320-23. The author discovered that in the printed text of the Āīn, Blochmann had changed the headings of the statistical Account. The column of zamīndār caste was replaced by caste only in every pargana. The restoration of the original column made it clear that the zamīndārs were to be found in every part of the empire. Also see Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, pp. 136-37 n.

He studied in detail the rights, composition, strength and many other aspects of the zamīndārs and distinguished them from the autonomous chiefs.[1]

Nurul Hasan accepted the universality of the zamīndārs and discussed at length the origins of zamīndārī rights and the relationship of this class with the Mughal government.[2] He divided the zamīndārs into three categories: a) primary zamīndārs; b) secondary zamīndārs and c) autonomous chiefs.[3]

The zamīndārs and chieftains alike have been addressed as zamīndārs in the official manuals and chronicles of Mughal India, though they held different positions in their respective territories and bore separate relationship with the Mughal government. Nevertheless, a few features were common among them: both belonged to the landed aristocracy; secondly, both had their hereditary status; independent of the Mughal authority in the initial stages atleast. Hence they need separate treatment.

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1. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, pp. 137-89.

2. Nurul Hasan, "The Position of the zamindars in the Mughal Empire', IESHR, Vol. I, no.4, Delhi, 1964, pp. 107-19.

3. But he is concious that autonomous chiefs held a different position and were called zamīndārs by the Mughal chronicles. Ibid. A separate study of autonomous chiefs has been made by Ahsan Raza Khan, Chieftains in the Mughal Empire during the reign of Akbar, Simla, 1977.

We have put together in this chapter evidences available in the contemporary records with respect to the zamīndārs in the sūba of Bihar. Our emphasis is on the origin, rights, composition, strength and functions of the zamīndārs. Chieftains have been discussed separately in the the 2nd section of the chapter.

The term zamīndār literally means 'holder of land' and was used in India from the 14th century onwards.[1] In Bihar, Mālik was the word often used as a synonym for the zamīndār as everywhere else in India.[2]

The zamīndārs enjoyed varying rights in the Mughal Empire. Our 16th & 17th century sources throw very little light on the subject as far as Bihar is concerned. However, after taking over the dīwānī of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1765, the English East India company made attempts to

1. W.H. Moreland, Agrarian System, op.cit., p.18.

2. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, pp. 139-40; Buchmann makes a distinction and says that the petty zamīndārs are called "maleks" (see Bihar & Patna, II, pp. 564, 580). But Grierson finds the inferior proprietors (petty zamīndārs) as khurdiya mālik in Gaya, while in Patna they were known as jujui hissedar (Bihar Pesant Life, p.322). Among the aboriginal races, they were called kshetrapal or satrap (see Hand, Administration of Bihar, p.72).

wholly under stand the structure, terminology and mechanism of the revenue system. A large number of questions were put to the natives officials and their answers taken. Much of these equiries are available to us[1] which help us in understanding the revenue system in the sūba during the Mughal period.

Regarding zamīndārī, the main questions before the English officials were: a) the nature of the zamīndārī rights; and b) the relationships that existed between the zamīndār and the state on the one hand, and the zamīndārs and peasantry on the other.

The Board of Revenue in Bengal in 1786 had declared zamīndārī to be "a conditional office, annually renevable, and revocable on defalcation.[2] James Grant came to the conclusion that the zamīndārs were proprietors of the land, but he also maintained that "sovereign ruler throughout Hindoostan, is the sole virtual proprietor of the soil".[3] This is rather a confusing picture. Another energetic official, John Shore, was of the opinion that the zamīndārs were not the proprietors of the soil and the property in land was exclusively vested in the crown, and that the

1. Kāghazāt-i mutafarriqa, BM, Add. 6586, ff. 103b -129b.
2. Firmingar, Fifth Report, II, p. 737.
3. Ibid.

zamīndārs were only managing the lands on behalf of the king.[1] The letter to John Shore by the Collector of Bhagalpur (1787) clearly states that the zamīndārs were not proprietors but possessors of land and had permanent interest in the development and improvement of land for the sake of enjoying the surplus.[2] In a 18th century collection of papers, the zamīndār has been described as a person who was the owner of the land (Sāhib-i zamīn) who paid revenue (kharāj) to the sultān or ruler (hākim).[3] The zamīndārī was the inhabited areas from where the revenue was paid to the state without any hesitations, and the cultivators (riʿāyā) was to be saved against the high-handedness of the imperial and his own servants. The zamīndārī rights could be of three kinds: Purchased, received as gift and inherited.[4] When we put together the facts regarding the zamīndārī rights in the Mughal empire, collected for example, by Irfan Habib,[5] and the information gathered by the English company in the second half of the 18th century, the picture that emerges is that the zamindars were not the proprietors of the soil but only collectors of the revenue on behalf of the Mughal state.

1. Ibid., pp. 737-41, 746-47; Also see British Parliamentary Papers, III, p.452.
2. Bhagalpur Records, Vol. 6, letter dated 9th Sept. 1787; A glossory of the revenue termed prepared at the orders of the commissioner of revenue in Bhagalpur in 1838 gives the meaning of zamīndār as the proprietor of land and zamīndārī a large landed property. Ibid., Vol. 36, dated 28th June, 1839. Glossary British Parliamentary Papers III, pp.49-50.
3. Kāghazāt, Add. 6586, f. 1013b (1136).
4. Ibid.
5. Agrarian System, pp.136-41.

Moreover, the zamīndārs staked a claim in the produce of the soil since long. The zamīndār, therefore, may or may not be the proprietor, but he certainly claimed certain superior rights in the property called his zamīndārī.[1] As Irfan Habib puts it, "zamīndārī was a right which belonged to a rural class other than, and standing above the peasantry".[2]

Zamīndārs were not to be found in the entire country side. In every pargana, there were some raīyatī or peasant-held villages which did not admit of any zamīndārī right.[3]

The relationship of a zamīndār with the state and the raīyat were unique. The state in normal circumstances would not dispossess him from his zamīndārī.[4] The zamīndār, inspite of his superior rights in the produce, was not competent to eject a peasant from his land unless the latter failed to pay the stipulated revenue. Nor the peasant was tied to the zamīndārs: he was free to move from one place to another. Large tracts of virgin land always kept the zamīndārs under the fear of the flight of peasantry if the latter were harassed.

1. For a detailed definition of zamīndārs, see British Parliamentary Papers, III, Glossary, pp. 49-50.

2. Agrarian System, p.141.

3. Ibid., pp. 141-43.

4. Ibid., pp. 154-55. The relationship between the zamīndār and state would be discussed in detail at the end of this chapter.

Besides, arbitrary fixation of rents by zamīndārs was not possible - both revenue and abwāb being fixed by the imperial authority.

Thus, the status of the zamīndār was neither that of a proprietor of the soil nor a vassal of the state; perhaps it was a compound of both.[1] He was an intermediary, pushing superior rights over the peasantry.

The main share of the zamīndār was in the form of mālikāna and Nānkār.

Early English administration, while investigating into the right of mālikānā found that it was an established right of the zamīndārs of Bihar. They were to receive it from the āmīls, jāgīrdārs and "altumgha holders". Whenever they were dispossessed from the management of their land.[2] Buchanan in 1811-12 gives a detailed account: "In the Mogul government the maliks were certainly not officers of government, as the zamīndārs undoubtedly were; nor had they in general only

1. British Parliamentary Papers, III, p.479.

2. Minutes of Mr. Shore, 18th Sept. 1789, British Parliamentary Papers, III, p.431. In fact, Shore considered it a main point of difference between the zamindārs of Bihar and these of Bengal. In the case of the latter, there was no such thing except "moshaira" which had some affinity with the mālikāna of the farmer (Ibid.).

management of their lands. An officer of government granted leases, collected the rent, and gave the maleks one tenth of the neat proceeds. The malek appointed an accomptant (sereshtahdar) to see that he received his due, and usually received a trifling annual present from the tenants of each village, as an acknowledgement of superiority in the feudal sense -----. In some places, it is alleged, that the Maleks managed their own estates, and accounted to the Amel or collector for the whole proceeds, deducting one tenth of the neat profit for their support".[1]

The above passage establishes the difference between the mālik and zamīndār in Bihar. The zamīndārs were considered as officers of the government, meaning thereby that they collected the revenue from the peasants, while the māliks got their mālikāna from the ʿāmils or other government servants. They generally did not have any part in the collection. The passage does not make clear what was the term used to denote the share of the zamīndār who managed their zamīndārīs, though Buchanan observes that sometimes the māliks also collected the land revenue and deducted the same share as mālikāna. We know from our 17th century sources that the zamīndārs, who were managing their territories and

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1. Bihar & Patna, II, pp. 564-65.

collecting revenue from peasants, were entitled to rusūm-i zamīndārī and dastūrāt-i zamīndārī.[1] The question is: was this rusūm-i zamīndārī in some way different in nature from the mālikana ? The answer comes from a set of questionnaire which was circulated among revenue officials regarding the revenue structure in Bihar and Bengal. To the question about the nature of the mālikāna. The answer was that in Bihar the mālikāna was synonymous with rusūm-i zamīndārī. If the zamīndār himself managed the affairs of zamīndārī, he could deduct it on his own. If the land was under the management of state, then, the state gave it to the zamīndār. In case the territory was under a jāgīrdār, he was to pay the zamīndār's share.[2]

From the above discussion, it is clear that the zamīndār had a definite share in the produce of the soil

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1. Jahangir's farmān to one Hiranand zamīndār in Munger states that the latter will be entitled to usual allowances (tr. by M.L. Roy Chaudhuri, IHRC, XVIII, 1941, pp.188-96). In the same way, the usual allowances are referred to in Aurangzeb's farmān to Mahinath (of Tirhut) bestowing on him the zamīndārī of pargana Sharanpur(sarkār Munger) and a few parganas in Bengal. I have consulted the translated copy (duly verified) kept in Darbhanga Raj Archives. Dr. Q.Ahmad consulted the document and has also translated it see Q. Ahmad, "Darbhanga Raj", IHRC, Vol. 36, pp.961-96.

2. Kāghazāt, Add. 6586, f. 150a.

which generally was equated with the mālikāna. Though the term was often used to indicate that the zamīndār was enjoying it when he was not administering his zamīndārī.

As regards the rate of the mālikāna, Shore's minutes of 18th Sept. 1789 reveals that it was 10% "as the ancient allowance agreeable to the constitution of the country government".[1] In reply to some queries around the same period, the mālikāna was stated to be 10 Rs. in 100 (10%) and 10 bīghas in 100 bīghas.[2] Buchanan's statement makes it clear that the rate of the mālikāna as 10% was as old-established practice.[3]

In addition to this, the zamīndārs working on behalf of the state, used to get nānkār grants in the form of land or cash. Nānkār was offered by the state in lieu of

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1. This rate was also fixed in 1771 by the provincial council at Patna with the sanction of the council at Calcutta, British Parliamentary Papers, III, p.451. In the same report, Shore says that this was like "moshaira" a charge of zamindars in Bengal, the rate for which is also given as 10%. Ibid., p.202.

2. Kāghazāt, Add. 6586, f. 1017 (117).

3. For the same rate of mālikāna in Bihar, see Hand, Administration of Bihar, p.29. For the prevalence of mālikāna in Bihar much before the taking of administration by the English East India Company, see Hunter, op. cit., vol. XI, pp.187-88.

service and it was, therefore, admissible only to those zamīndārs who worked for the state. We come across a large number of documents granting nānkār in cash or kind to different zamīndārs in all parts of the suba.[1] We have no information as to what was the actual amount sanctioned for nānkār. A glossary of the revenue terms prepared in the 18th century gives its rate as 5%.[2]

Besides these the zamīndārs were also given many grants in the form of inām (gift) or revenue free grants for loyalty and good services.[3]

The zamīndārs, if influential (and loyal to the state) could also enjoy the office of chaudhurī which was exclusively held by the zamindars.[4] This substantially increased their status and earnings.

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1. Bihar State Archives, Patna, has a number of nānkār grants in the name of one jhatoo chaudhary, and many others. (Bastano, 329 of Saran). The Darbhanga Raj Archive (Bihar State) also has a number of such documents all of which are uncatalogued (some are in Persian and some in English translation). Besides these, a number of such documents preserved in the Bihar Archives and the different collectorates of Bihar have been given in K.K. Datta, Some Firmans, Sanads and Parwanas, pp. 36, 45-46.

2. See 'Glossary', British Parliamentary Papers, III, p.33.

3. Basta no.968 (Shahabad) 329 of Saran Bihar State Archives, Patna and many more uncatalogued. Also see Dutta, op.cit., pp. 3, 40, 41.

4. For Jahangir's farmān appointing chaudhurīs in a few parganas of Munger, see M.L. Roy Chaudhuri, IHRC, XVIII, pp.188-96.

contd...

In addition to this main claim in the land revenue, our sources also refer to a number of perquisites (*kasūmāt*) charged by the *zamīndārs* from the persons residing in his *zamīndārī*. Most of these perquisites were by and large non-agrarian in the sense that these had nothing to do with the agricultural produce *per se*, although the *zamīndārs* collected these perquisites because of his peculiar position in the agrarian hierarchy. Thus, at the most, the *zamīndārs* perquisites were semi-agrarian, and that too, in a very restricted sense.

A common practice in the Mughal empire was that the peasants often rendered physical services to the *zamīndārs* on certain occassions, free of charge generally called *begār*.[1] The 17th century *madad-i maāsh* documents often mention that grant holders were exempted from *begār*. Except this, there is no other reference as to the nature of *begār* in Bihar. In the 19th century, however, it was widely prevalent in Bihar.[2] *Begār* in Mughal India does not seem to

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For Akbar and Aurangzeb's *farmān* to Gopal Thakur and his family, see Q. Ahmad, '*Darbhanga Raj*', *op.cit.*, *IHRC*, vol. 36, pp. 94-96. For details about the *chaudhurī*, see the chapter on Land Revenue (*supra*).

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1. Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System*, p.150.
2. Buchanan noticed that in the districts of Patna and Gaya Weavers performed this *begar* in the form of carrying the luggage of the *zamīndār*'s guests (see *Bihar & Patna*, II, p.654). For the *begār* performed by weavers in Shahabad, see Martin, *Eastern India*, I, p.549.

have been practised on the zamīndār's field, but in the 19th century Bihar this 'free service' was availed of for ploughing zamīndār's fields and was known as hari or harihar.[1]

The zamīndār charged a cess on marriages performed in their areas.[2] It was called biyadānī in North Bihar and was realised from every body except the members of the upper caste.[3]

Again, a tax was taken when a house was built or sold.[4] For Bihar, the earliest reference is for 1811-12 when it amounted to 1/8th of the price of the house sold.[5]

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1. Grierson, Bihar Peasant Life, p.318.

2. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p.150.

3. Grierson, p.317. The rate given by Grierson (late 19th century) for Tirhut is one rupee and four annas for a girl's and ten annas for a boy's marriage. The accounts of the English Company's zamīndārī at Deh Calcutta and other places (1710-11) show such charges for marriages and divorces, too (see Wilson, The Early Annals of the English in Bengal, II, pt. I, pp.11-12).

4. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p.150.

5. Buchanan, Bihar and Patna, II, p.599. The English Company's zamīndārī also show income from the rent and sale of the houses, Wilson, II, pt.I, pp.11-12.

In addition, the zamīndārs also charged cesses on fishing and grazing, and took rent for the palm trees and orchards, too.[1] Grierson, while discussing the details of taxes, says that the collections were made in old sicca rupees of Akbar[2] which may suggest that these were customary charges since the Mughal times.

Apart from these perquisites the zamīndārs drew a substantial income from taxes imposed on different crafts flourishing in their territories, and also on merchandise passing through their areas. Taxes were also realized from the bāzārs, hāts and gunges situated in their zamīndārī. Though we do not possess any information about it during the 17th century, early British surveys show it to be a long standing practice in this region.[3] In order to find out the origin of this practice, its legality and the possibility of abolishing zamīndār's right, one questionnaire with six queries was sent in 1789 A.D. by the Revenue Board to all the collectors of Bihar.[4] We quote below at length what the

1. British Parliamentary Papers, III, p.460.

2. Grierson, pp. 317-18.

3. See British Parliamentary Papers, III, p.238. In 1790, an official of the company was appointed to revise and establish such tolls as may be considered lawful (Ibid., pp.238, 459-60).

4. Bhagalpur Records, vol. 9, ff. 108-18; Muzaffarpur Collectorate Records, vol. 187, Also see British Parliamentary Papers, III, p.470.

Collector of Bhagalpur wrote in this respect.[1]

> "When the native princes granted zamindaris they granted not mere official trust but land and upon the evidence of two of the most ancient documents perhaps existing it appears that a grant of land conveyed a property in all its rents and tolls, which tolls could be nothing else than Bauzar and Gunge collections --- on descending from ancient records to modern customs the zamindar's claims on the Gunges, Bazars and Hauts will appear to be no less firmly established for it will be found that species of collections in denominated Sayr Mahl have from time immemorial made a part of the zamindary ~~if~~ jumma and that no zamindar considered his Khood Bandobust complete wherein it was not included ---".

Other British collectors also pointed out that the zamindārs would certainly object to its being abolished. It was argued that their rights over gunges and bāzārs were at par with their rights in the produce of the land and, therefore, dispossession from the one was as important an infrigement of their rights as from the other.[2] The reaction of the

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1. Bhagalpur Records, vol. 9, pp. 108-118.
2. Muzaffarpur Collectorate Records, vol. 187; British Parliamentary Papers, III, p.470.

zamīndārs was that (the) "government if it pleased, might take from him his whole zamindary".[1]

Buchanan in 1811-12 found that at all the old established markets, the zamīndārs collected Tolā or a small share of every thing sold in spite of its abolition by the government.[2] These were paid by the people without any objection Buchanan suggested that the tax to which people have been long habituated may be revived, before the memory of old times was obliterated.[3] Grierson, as late as the close of the 19th century, found a tax levied by the landlords on grain seller's weight called kauli, bayan or kirāyā.[4] In the south-east of Bihar, a tax called tahbajari (tehbāzārī) was levied on shopkeepers.[5] It seems that since long the excise (Ābkārī, a tax on distillers) was under the charge of the zamīndārs and was a good source of income to them.[6] Miners

1. Ibid., p.459. The account of early (1710-11) English zamīndārī in Calcutta also show the income from the markets (see Wilson, II, pt. I, pp.11-12).

2. Bihar and Patna, II, pp. 699-700. For Bhagalpur see Martin, Eastern India, vol. II, p.281.

3. Bihar and Patna, II, p.700.

4. Grierson, p.318.

5. Ibid.

6. Binayak Prasad, Tawārīkh-i Ujjaniya, II, p.157, where the author says that from the year Fasli 1198)1790) this charge was taken from the zamīndārs by the government. Also see Hand, Administration of Bihar, p.29.

excavating mica in the territories of the zamīndārs were charged at the rate of 2 rupees per person per year.[1] In the same manner, persons involved in the refining of saltpetre were charged six to seven rupees per furnace per year.[2] Our seventeenth century sources do not mention this tax but a cue could be taken from rock-salt mining in sūba Lahor where a nominal tax was taken by the Mughal state from the miners as testified to by Abul Fazl and Sujān Rāi.[3]

The practice of charging rāhdārī (road tolls) on the merchandise passing through the jurisdiction of the zamīndār was widespread in Bihar. Alexander Hamilton mentions the presence of 'chiefs' on the banks of the Ganges between Patna and Qasim Bazar, who demanded tax on all merchandise passing through their territories.[4]

Tolls and duties realized by the zamīndārs from the mercantile boats passing the chaukīs stationed by the bank of rivers were later directed to be abolished by the English

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1. Buchanan, Bihar and Patna, II, p.460.

2. Ibid., p.667.

3. Ain, p.539; Sujan Rai, pp.75-77.

4. See A. Hamilton, Travels, p. 411 Between Patna and Munger, Manrique had to pass through eighteen toll posts, making a payment at each, though the amount paid was very small; in some cases as much as two paisa only (Manrique, II, p.138).

East India Company after it took over the diwānī in Bihar.[1]

It is not possible, however, to compare the magnitude of income derived by the zamīndārs as a 'superior' share in the agricultural produce with that obtained from non-agrarian avenues, including perquisites. But it does seem that non-agrarian income contributed substantially to the zamīndār's income.

In return of all the privileges and superior rights, the zamīndārs were supposed to perform certain duties. Their main function naturally was the collection and deposition of the land revenue into the royal treasury. Besides this, the zamīndārs were expected to maintain law and order in their jurisdictions. They also helped the state officials in curbing the refractory and rebellions elements. The troops maintained by the zamīndārs were to be placed at the disposal of the state officials whenever the need arose. In return for rāhdārī, they provided security to the goods and the merchants passing through their territory. The roads and bridges were

1. British Parliamentary Papers, III, p.49. Again, the zamīndārs were later prohibited by the English company from collecting inland rāhdārī passing through their territories which were not meant to be disposed off there (Ibid.). However, duties at inland chaukīs, hāts and gunges were allowed to continue in the hands of the zamīndārs as formerly (Ibid. Also see Hand, Administration of Bihar, p.29). In spite of the orders of the company, the zamīndārs continued charging inland rāhdārī (British Parliamentary Papers, III, p.49). Grierson in late 19th century found it being levied (Grierson, p. 318).

also repaired from their charge.[1]

We have very little information how the zamīndār collected the revenue or how his establishment was organised. Most of the information on this subject comes from the 18th century but in most cases the indications are that it was a long standing practice. These may be summarised as follows:

In the first place, the qānūngos were supposed to keep an account of the annual produce of each zamīndārī to regulate the distribution of the jamaʿ in different proportions to the state, zamīndār, and the subordinate officials engaged in the revenue collection.[2] ʿĀmils used to take qubūliyat from the zamīndārs for depositing the revenue, and if the zamīndārs failed in this, they were taken to task and even their zamīndārs could be taken away.[3]

The establishment of the holders of substantial zamīndārī was somewhat elaborate. They used to have one-dīwān or tahsīldār as their stewards, with 'Motsuddis' or 'Peshkars'

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1. Firminger, Fifth Report, II, p.745.

2. Bhagalpur Records, vol. 9, p.114. Also see Fifth Report, II, p.747.

3. 'Petition of the Aumils of Bihar to the Board of Revenue c. 1786' (Hand, Administration of Bihar, p.30).

(clerks), cash keepers (Fotadārs), record keepers and guards ('Pegudehs) under an officer called jamaʿdār.[1] The official working place was called "kachahri" where the dues were collected.[2] The small zamindars kept one clerk with one or more watchman ('chawkīdār') for assistance in collecting the revenue.[3] The zamīndārs of both the categories were well armed.[4]

When the zamindars did not collect revenue themselves, they got a share of 10% on the total collection. For this they kept a vigilant eye on the qānūngos and 'āmils as their mālikāna depended on the accuracy of the papers of the 'āmils and qānūngos.[5] They took their share through the ʿāmils and the holders of jāgīrs and altamgha grants.[6]

Zamīndārī apparently had all the features of private property: it was salable could be gifted away and inheritable, too[7]. The purchase and sale of zamīndārī was systematised by

1. Buchanan, Bihar & Patna, II, p.565. For such office bearers in the zamīndārīs of the English Company in Calcutta, see Wilson, Aunals, II, pt. I, pp. 11-12.

2. Buchanan, Bihar & Patna, p.565.

3. Ibid., pp. 565-66.

4. Ibid., p.566.

5. Hand, Administration of Bihar, p.29.

6. British Parliamentary Papers, III, p.451. Also see Hand, op.cit., p.29.

7. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p.154. Also see Kāghazāt, Add. 6586, f. 1013 b (113 b).

the Mughal state by making it compulsory to register such deals. We get innumerable zamīndārī sale-deeds in surviving records. It seems that the sale-price of a zamīndārī was seldom more than double or barely exceeded the land-revenue demand for one year.[1]

Hereditary succession to the zamīndārī was a rule in Mughal India. The need of a sanad rose only in the case of dispute between legal heirs. When a zamīndārī was bestowed by a royal farmān, it was mentioned that it is to be inherited generation after generation.[2] The shares of successors were always given as the whole village, or in fractional parts of

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1. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, pp. 151-53. Irfan Habib points out that the prices were surprisingly low compared to the rate price and land revenue for one year and suggests that it should have been the capitalised value of the anual income expected from possession of the right purchased; but what he has probably overlooked is that the zamīndār share was only around 10% of the total land revenue and, thus, the prices were infact capitalised value of the expected income.

2. Jehangir's farmān of 1613 A.D. tr. M.L. Roy Chaudhuri, IHRC, XVIII, 1941, pp. 188-96; Mahinath Thakur, the qānūngo and chaudhurī of Tirhut, was given zamīndārī right in a few parganas of Bengal also in return for his good services (Farmān of Darbhanga Archives uncatalogued) similarly, the zamīndārī of Garhi (left by Daryao Singh) was given to Ranbhim in return for his help in Man Singh's Bengal expedition; but one of his descendants, Udho, in the reign of Shahjahan, was recognised as zamīndār on the condition of embracing Islam, and he was even elevated to the position of rāja (chieftain). (see K.K. Basu, 'History of Teliagarhi and Madhuban', IHRC, vol. 35, 1960, pp.51-55).

of a village as the case may be but never in bighas.[1]

Buchanan found in Patna that the minute sub-division of property had reduced a large number of the zamindars to the condition of mere peasants, and in many cases the former were compelled to cultivate their lands themselves.[2]

In Bihar, at the time of the early English settlement, the British officers, because of the hereditary nature of zamindari, were misled into considering the zamindars as the real proprietors of land and, hence, they put much emphasis on its hereditary character.[3] The details of the procedure adopted for inheritance have been given at the end of the chapter (Appendix A).

Our seventeenth century sources are not adequate enough to provide answers to a few questions concerning zamindari. For example: a) What happened in the case of issue-less or unclaimed zamindaris ? ; b) What was done with the abandoned zamindaris; and c) When waste land was brought under cultivation, who got the zamindari ?

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1. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p.156.

2. Bihar and Patna, II, p.563.

3. Fifth Report, II, pp. 743-45; British Parliamentary Papers, III, p.204.

However, the English Company's survey reports give us some clues. These may be summarised as below:

In all the above cases, the royal authority had powers of decision. In the first case, after the death of a zamīndār with no issue, the zamīndārī was kept in the charge of the muqaddams pending decision.[1] In the second case, the Mughal emperor could give the abandoned zamīndārī to any of the persons applying for it.[2] In the third case; when a waste land was brought under cultivation, the emperor could give it in zamīndārī to the person instrumental in this act.[3]

The rise of some zamīndārīs may be traced initially to the holder of a government office and, in many cases, to that of the qānūngos. The most illuminating example of such a zamīndārī is that of the Darbhanga Raj family. The family started as

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1. Cf. British Parliamentary Papers, III, p.238. When Ghanshyam, the zamīndār of Sultanpur Katloo (Munger), died in 1712 without issue the zamīndārī was put under the charge of muqaddam.

2. When Bheek Roy could not defend the tarf of Indrik (Munger) from the people of Bunickpore (?), he abandoned it; later, 'Lachmun', a brahmin, applied for it which was granted to him in 1061 fasli (1653) by Aurangzeb (there is some error in the date). At the time of writing the document, the 4th descendant of Luchman, Manohar Singh was the zamīndār (British Parliamentary Papers, III, p.240).

3. The tarf of Ibrahimpur established in waste land was given to one Bendodo Chowdhri of Munger, whose grandson Hari Kishan was in possession in 1790, Ibid, p.240.

qānūngos and chaudhuris during Akbar's period, emerging as powerful zamindārs by the time of Aurangzeb, and ultimately by 1720 became 'chieftain'.[1] Buchanan found that the ancestors of the most distinguished zamindār of Baikanthpur could be traced to one "Bhav Singha" who started his career as a qānūngo.[2]

It has not been possible to estimate the exact number of the zamindārs in the sūba of Bihar. However, some idea may be formed on the basis of the later records. The Collector of Saran informed the Board of Revenue in 1788 that in 12 out of 17 parganas, there were 353 zamindārs.[3] The number in the districts of Bihar and Shahabad was considered much greater.[4] By one estimate, the number of the zamindārs in Munger was 3180.[5] The main problem in making permanent settlement in Tirhut was stated to be the large number of "estates" in the district.[6]

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1. Q. Ahmad, 'Darbhanga Raj', IHRC, vol. 36, 1961, pp.94-96.

2. Bihar & Patna, II, p.577.

3. British Parliamentary Papers, III, p.453.

4. Ibid., p.457.

5. Hunter, vol. XV, pp. 115-16.

6. H.R. Ghoshal, 'The Problem of Effecting Permanent Settlement in Tirhut", IHRC, vol. 35, 1960, pt. II, p.91.

Caste Composition of the Zamīndārs

The composition of the zamīndār class was a heterogenous one. They were represented by the people from all the 'castes'.[1] The Āīn provides information regarding the dominant zamīndār caste in every pargana, but it is unfortunate that the Ain's information in this respect are incomplete in the case of Bihar. Of the seven sarkars of the sūba, the zamīndār caste for only the sarkār of Bihar is given. Here, too, out of a total of 45 parganas, the information is provided for 27 parganas only.[2] The study of the zamīndār caste in the sarkār of Bihar shows that the Brahmins were the predominant caste represented in eleven parganas followed by the Rajputs in five, the Kāyastha in four, the Afghans and Shaikhzadas in three each, and the Cherus in two parganas.[3]

The main strength of the zamīndār was based on the armed retainers recruited by him. The Āīn gives the number of cavalry (sawār) and infantry (piyādah) for each pargana.

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1. Abul Fazl uses the term 'qaum' which is more comprehensive in its connotation than the term 'caste'. Strictly speaking the Afghans, Shaikhzadas and Cherus, etc. Can not be put into the category of "caste". It is only for convenience that we have used the term 'caste'.

2. Āīn, pp. 418-19.

3. Ibid.

In the case of the sūba of Bihar, it provides pargana-wise figures for the sarkār of Bihar only and, for the rest, the Ain gives sarkār-wise figures. The fact that the "columns" of cavalry and infantry in the Ain are given immediately after the caste of zamīndārs, indicates that they were armed retainers of the zamīndārs. Wherever the pargana-wise zamīndār caste is mentioned, the number of armed retainers are also given pargana-wise, and whenever the 'caste' is stated for the whole sarkār, the number of cavalry and infantry is also given for the whole of the sarkār.[1] The total number of cavalry and infantry in the sūba of Bihar was as follows.[2]

Sarkār	Sawār (Cavalry)	Piyādah (Infantry)
Bihar	2115	67,350
Munger	2150	50,000
Champaran	700	30,000
Hajipur	200	10,000
Saran	1000	50,000
Tirhut	700	80,000
Rohtas	4550	1,62,000
Total	11,415	4,49,350

Note: 100 boats were maintained by the zamīndārs.

4,49,350 infantry with the support of 11,415 cavalry and 100 boats will make a strong force. The total

1. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, pp. 163-64.
2. Ain, pp. 417-23.

number of cavalry and infantry kept by the zamīndārs in all the sūbas of the Mughal empire was about 42,77,057 infantry and 3,84,558 cavalry.[1] Thus the zamīndārs of Bihar maintained retainers amounting to 10.05% infantry and 2.96% of cavalry of the total given for the empire. Such a large regular force would require huge sums for its maintenance and upkeep. It seems, therefore, that the cavalry would have been a regular force, while the infantry may have included persons whose services were availed of at the time of need; the latter naturally would have been drawn from the peasantry. Such troops generally belonged to the clan of the zamīndārs, thus strengthening the ties between them and the peasantary. Farid (Shershah) in his operations against the zamīndārs in his father's jagir in Bihar is stated to have killed all the men he found and settled new peasants.[2] The assumption behind this incident, as suggested by Irfan Habib, was that the old peasants were either the retainers of the zamīndārs or at least had served them in battle.[3]

The above table shows that the sarkār of Rohtas commanded the largest number of troops although it had a smaller area compared to some sarkārs of Bihar. It had an

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1. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, pp. 163-64.
2. Abbas Khān, Tuhfa-i Akbar Shāhī (Cf. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, pp. 166-67).
3. Ibid.

area of 6,446 square miles, smaller as compared to the sarkārs of Bihar, Munger and Tirhut. The large number of troops in Rohtas may have been due to three reasons: first, it had a large revenue return, next only to the sarkār of Bihar. Secondly, it had the largest chieftancy in Bihar, i.e. the Ujjaniyas; and thirdly, its geographical situation, surrounded as it was with dense forests, would have required large number of troops. The difficulties in administering the sarkār of Rohtas could have prompted the administration to divide it into two distinct sarkārs later on Rohtas and Shahabad.[1] These troops performed many functions. They protected the zamīndār's possessions, helped in collecting revenue from the 'zortalab' (rebellions) peasantry and in the maintenance of general law and order in the zamīndārs. Our sources possess inumerable evidences on the supply of troops by the zamīndārs at the time of Imperial expeditions against rebellious territories as well as for new conquests.

Another symbol of the zamīndār's strength was the large number of big and small fortresses dotted through out the sūba. Abul Fazl refers to only big fortresses such as Gidhaur, Ratanpur, and others. Many of these were at places where the Imperial control was substantial, like Patna, Munger,

1. See Chapter one on Geography (supra).

etc.[1] Early British surveyors found small 'fortresses' in large numbers in the country side. In Gaya Buchanan found petty ruined forts belonging to the zamīndārs whose number was too great to be calculated.[2] Similarly, he found ruined forts 8 in Dariapur, 86 in Helsa (29 were still inhabited), 100 in Jahanabad and in large numbers at Daudnagar and Vikram.[3] The construction and maintenance of the forts was a right provided and protected by the Mughal government so long as the zamīndārs remained loyal.[4] In the case of rebellious zamīndārs, these fortresses were attacked and destroyed.

Zamīndārs and Mughal Administration

The zamīndārs, as shown earlier, had a proprietory rights over the produce of the land and this right was hereditary. At the same time, these rights existed even before the establishment of the Mughal empire and, therefore, the zamīndārs did not draw their authority from the Mughal state like the jāgīrdārs. Considering this position of the zamīndārs, the question is as to what was the relationship between the zamīndār and the Mughal state, and whether the zamīndārs could be called government servants ?

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1. Āīn, pp. 418-23.
2. Buchanan, Bihar & Patna, I, p.162.
3. Ibid., pp. 183, 233, 250,256, 261.
4. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, pp. 164-65.

On the basis of the relationship between the zamīndār and the Mughal administrative machinery, this class may be divided into three categories. First, the zamīndārs who were by passed in the process of land-revenue collection and were entitled to mālikāna. The second category was of those zamīndārs who collected land revenue on behalf of the state and, after deducting their own share, forwarded the rest to the royal exchequer. And finally, those, who, besides collecting land revenue in their territories, possessed the chaudhurā'ī (rights). This right made the zamīndār responsible for the collection of revenue from the areas of other zamīndārs also.

The first category can by no criteria be considered as service, while second category of the zamīndārs, though not appointed by the state (except when the zamīndārs were appointed by royal orders in specific cases), may be considered as Imperial servants since they were supposed to collect land revenue strictly, according to rules and regulations framed by the state, with the help of state officials. They also received nānkār from the state in lieu of service. But the Mughal State did not have the authority to remove him unless he was declared a defaulter or rebellious. As regards the third category, where the chaudhrā'ī was coupled with zamīndārī, the state was the appointing authority and, hence, it could remove him at pleasure. But, here, too, only the chaudhrā'ī could have been taken away, when the chaudhurī failed to perform his duties. The chaudhurī, therefore, was

a purely government office carrying with it the fixed perquisites. As far as the coupling of the zamīndārī and chaudhrā'ī is concerned, it does not necessarily imply that zamīndārī was a government service.[1] Such coupling is generally found in cases where the zamīndārī rights were granted by the Emperor. Moreover, such appointments were given to the most loyal or dependable persons; hence, the chaudhrā'ī may be considered as a special favour. Thus, the chaudhurī for all practical purposes was a government servant, and not so all the zamīndārs. The latter had only a sort of contract with the Imperial authority, and they did not generally draw their authority from the sovereign.

As discussed earlier, the state had every right to appoint a zamīndār in case of an unclaimed zamīndārī, or in place of rebellious zamīndār. It could even replace a zamīndār who failed to collect the revenue. Again, the state was the sole authority to appoint a zamīndār in newly conquered territories. But the state used such powers with caution. As eighteenth century enquiry in zamīndār's rights informs that in case of minor rebellion the zamīndār was

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1. Irfan Habib expresses this opinion on the basis of the use of the term khidmat (service) in the royal appointment orders of the zamīndārs. But it is only in the cases of the zamīndārs appointed by the Emperor. This, too, is from the documents where the zamindari and chaudhrā'ī have been granted in the same order (see Agrarian System, p. 173).

state was the sole authority to appoint a zamīndār in newly conquered territories. But the state used such powers with caution. An eighteenth century enquiry in zamīndār's rights informs that in case of minor rebellion the zamīndār was given petty punishments as a warning; but if his default continued, the administration of zamīndārī was taken from him, and one of his successors was selected to replace him. It appears, however, that such appointing privilege was used in rare cases only. Ordinarily, such interference was avaided in contrast to what happened to jāgīrdārs. Nevertheless, the might of the Mughal State hung like the Damocle's sword in the form of its threat of dispossession if a zamīndār rebelled or deliberately procrastinated or failed to perform his duties.

The state also reserved its power to intervene and decide disputes concerning the zamīndārī rights among numerous claimaints. Perhaps this power sometimes might have been utilised to eliminate refractory elements. In one case of such disputes between two zamīndārs, Anand and Kanak, in pargana Bal of sarkār Saran, the claim of Kanak was rejected and that of Anand was upheld as the legitimate zamīndār by Aurangzeb. The ʿāmil of the said pargana was

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1. Kāghazāt, Add. 6586, f. 1015 a (115 a).

directed to take action and put a stop to Kanak's intereference in order to secure the zamīndārī to Anand.[1] Again in 1702, the faujdār of sarkār Saran was ordered to help Anand.[2] A similar order was issued in 1703 to other officials to protect the rights of one Maha Singh vis-a-vis Prem Narain.[3] The emperor's repeated directions in this case for three years show that it was not an easy task to displace any contending party. This difficulty might have been due to the local links and caste-base of the claimants concerned.

Yet in another dispute in 1724, orders were issued to transfer the zamīndārī of the village Tappa Khurd in pargana Cherand of sarkār Saran, from Lal Khan to Baqar Khan.[4] The state considered the former's claim illegal.

The incidence of rebellions by the zamīndārs against the Mughal administration was very high as testified to by the contemporary accounts and documents. It seems that such occurrences in Bihar were comparatively frequent, because of its geographical situation and distance from the capital.

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1. See the parwana in Bihar State Archives, Patna, Basta no. 329. For an abridged translation in English, see K.K. Datta, Firmans, p.38.
2. Parwāna in Bihar State Archives, Basta no.329. Also Datta, op.cit., pp. 38-39.
3. Parwāna in Bihar State Archives, Basta no.329. Also Datta, p. 39.
4. Datta, p.45.

Why there were frequent rebellions by the zamīndārs ?

The failure, whether deliberate or otherwise, to collect or remit the state's share often pushed the zamīndārs to the rebellious path. This was one common practice to evade the imminent punishment. Their caste concentration with the armed retainers of the same caste gave them strength and generated arrogance to defy the Imperial authority. Whenever there was any political instability, such as the rebellion of princes or jāgīrdārs, some zamīndārs took advantage of the situation by helping the rebels, and thus opposing the state.[1] During the War of Succession between the sons of Shahjahan, each side tried to

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1. At the time of the rebellion (1579-81) of jāgīrdārs in Bihar, many zamīndārs also joined them (Akbarnāma, III, pp. 284-87, 305-09, 319-337). At the time of the rebellion of Chin Qulij, the jāgīrdārs of Jaunpur in 1615, the zamīndārs of Tirhut helped him in several ways (Tuzuk, p. 148 Eng. tr. Rogers, vol. I, p.302 n.) The zamīndār of Darbhanga helped the faujdār to crush the rebellion of the zamīndār of Morung (Nepal) for which the former was suitably rewarded and the latter also received many favours (Farmān, in Darbhanga Archives also see Q. Ahmad, 'Dharbhanga Raj', IHRC, vol. 36, 1961, pp. 94-96.

muster the support of the zamīndārs to strengthen their positions.[1] After the death of Aurangzeb, the aspirations of zamīndārs rose high and it was reported by the English factors in 1712 that the zamīndārs even plundered "Kings (Farukhṣiyar) own boats".[2]

The fact that the fortresses of many zamīndārs were in the midst of dense forests & hilly tracts of South Bihar, Munger and Rohtas, may be one of the factors that tempted the zamīndārs there to take the path of rebellion. Such geographical situation was disadvantageous to the imperial forces who were not familiar with the region.

Thus, the Mughal administration knew it fully well that their relationship with the zamīndārs was of mutual interest and that it was not possible for one to eliminate the other.

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1. Shuja issued an order to the zamīndārs of Bihar to help him and oppose the forces to Dara and gave assurances of good rewards. Similarly, Dara also issued nishāns to the Chieftains and zamīndārs seeking their help and promised to bestow special favours (see B.P. Ambashthya, 'Some Farmans, Sanads Nishans & C' JBRS, vol. 43, pt.III & IV, 1957, pp. 215-239).

2. Wilson, Annals, II, pt. I, pp.80-81.

CHIEFTAINS

So far we have discussed the zamīndārs as a land-owning class claiming superior rights in land, but working as a part of the Mughal administration for the collection of land-revenue. There was yet another category of superior right holders, existing throughout the Mughal Empire, who were called rāis, rānās, rāwats or rājās, etc. They enjoyed administrative, political and economic freedom to some measure in their respective territories and may, therefore, be termed as autonomous or semi-autonomous chiefs.

The Mughal chroniclers refer to the chieftains as zamīndār. The use of the same term for this class and ordinary zamīndārs causes some confusion. However, the difference between the two-the chiefs and zamīndārs-lay most clearly in their relationship with the imperial power which allowed autonomy to the chief, a right which ordinary zamindars obviously did not possess.

Moreland was the first to draw our attention to the importance of chieftains, in Mughal India.[1] Following

1. W.H. Moreland, Agrarian System of Moslem India, op.cit. pp. 117-23.

him, P. Saran also devoted some space to the chiefs in his work.[1] Irfan Habib, while discussing the position of the zamīndārs, gives a detailed account relating to the rights and obligations of the chieftains, distinguishing them from ordinary zamīndārs[2]. In a succinct and path-breaking article Nurul Hasan has emphasized the role of the chieftains in the structure of Mughal Empire.[3] He has classified zamīndārs into three categories: (a) the autonomous chieftains; (b) the intermediate zamīndārs; and (c) the primary zamīndārs. A.R. Khan's work is the first detailed study about the position and role of chiefs in all regions of the Mughal Empire during the reign of Akbar.[4] He has identified the principalities of various chiefs, and discussed at length the manner of their subjugation and the nature of their relationship with the Mughal State.

Like all the sūbas of Mughal India, Bihar too had a number of chieftaincies, some having a group of parganas and others just a portion of it.

1. P. Saran, Provincial Government of the Mughals, pp.110-54.
2. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, pp. 182-89.
3. S. Nurul Hasan, 'The Position of the Zamīndārs in the Mughal Empire', IESHR, vol. I, Nov. 4, pp. 107-119.
4. A.R. Khan, Chieftains in the Mughal Empire during the Reign of Akbar, Simla, 1977.

We will first identify, as far as possible, the principalities of various chiefs and, then, trace the process of their subjugation.

The Ujjaniya Rāj was the biggest chieftancy in Bihar, situated mainly in the sarkār of Rohtas, during the reign of Akbar; later on, when the sarkār was divided into two (Rohtas and Shahabad), they held their major share in the sarkār of Shahabad. During the reign of Jahangir, the Ujjaniyas controlled parts of the parganas of Arrah, Bihiya, Danwar, Pero, Punwar, Nanar, Dambara, Barahgaon and Bhojpur in the sarkār of Shahabad, parts of the parganas of Sahasram and Chainpur in Rohtas, and of Kopa and Manjhi in sarkār Saran. Besides these, they also held Gadh and Mahmoodabad.[1] According to the family records, the rāj was established in A.D. 1320, when their ancestors came from Ujjain in Malwa.[2] They attained importance during the sixteenth century under

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1. Binayak Prasad, Tawārīkh-i Ujjaniya, II, pp. 35, 54, 55 of these, except Chainpur, all are given as parganas of Rohtas in the Āīn, p.22-23. I have not been able to identify Kopa in Saran, as also Gadh & Mehmoodabad. The account of Binayak Prasad was written in the 19th century and the area controlled by the Ujjaniyas as given by him seems highly exaggerated.

2. Binayak Prasad, Tawārīkh-i Ujjaniya, op.cit., I, p.56.

the patronage of Hasan Khan Sur and his son, Farid.[1] Their strongholds were the forts of Shergarh and Jagdispur.[2]

The Ujjaniya rāja Gajpati is said to have assisted the Mughals in their Bengal expedition in 1572-73.[3] So it seems that by that time he had already submitted to the Mughal power.

Another important chieftancy was that of the Cheros. They are said to be of Dravidian origin.[4] They held large tracts in the south of Bihar but were replaced at many places by Ujjaniyas with whome they seems to have been engaged in frequent fights in the 16th and early 17th centuries.[5] The Ā'īn records the cheros as the zamīndārs in the parganas of Chai Champa and Pudag (Pundrag) situated in the south

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1. B.P. Ambashthya, 'Tradition and Geneology of Ujjaniyas in Bihar', PLHC, XXIII, 1963, p.127.

2. A.R. Khan, Chieftains & C., op.cit., pp. 168-69.

3. Abul Fazl, Akbarnāma, III, p.22.

4. S. Hasan Askari, 'Bihar in the time of Aurangzeb', JBRS vol. 31, op.cit., p.257.

5. Tawārīkh-i Ujjaniya, II, pp. 32-33.

of the sūba (sarkār of Bihar).[1] In the Mughal sources they are generally refered to as the zamīndār of Palamau. The pargana of Palamau has not been recorded in the Ā'īn, but it is included as a pargana of sarkār Bihar in the lists prepared in the 18th century. It seems that the whole of this southern region was under the influence of the Cheros. We hear of their powerful chief, Maharat Chero, during Sher Shah's reign.[2] During Akbar's reign (1590-91), Man Singh plundered the territory of the Chero King Anant Chero, but could not subdue him.[3] In the 15th regnal year of Shahjehan, the raja of Palamau was attacked by Shaista Khan, the then governor of Bihar, and the former was forced to submit.[4] In the 17th regnal year of the same emperor, due to his rebellious attitude, another expedition was sent against him by Itiqad Khan the then governor of Bihar with similar result.[5] But, he probably rebelled again, and in the 4th regnal year of Aurangzeb, the governor Daud Khan, after a successful expedition against him, secured his submission.[6]

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1. Ā'īn, p.418.

2. See Abbas Khān, Tuhfa-i Akbar shāhi, Eng. tr. by Elliot & Dowson, vol. IV, pp. 368-69, 371, 373-74. Also see A.R. Khan, Chieftains, p.170.

3. Akbarnāma, III, p. 576; Ma'āsir-al umarā, II, p.162.

4. Lahori, Bādshāhnāma, II, pp. 248-50; Ma'āsir-al Umarā, II, pp. 693-94.

5. Bādshāhnāma, II, pp.360-61; Ma'āsir-al Umarā, I, p.181; II, p. 372.

6. Ma'āsir-i'Ālamgīrī, pp. 37-38; 'Ālamgīrnāma, pp.648-60 ~~or 658~~.

Another notable chieftancy in Bihar was that of the Gidhaur. This is mentioned in the Ā'īn as a mahāl of sarkār Bihar having strong fort. The caste of the zamīndār's entered as Rajput.[1] Its chieftain held, besides Gidhaur, Malda as well. Gidhaur was brought under the Mughal suzerainty after the 19th regnal year of Akbar. Its raja is recorded to have helped the Mughal forces in the Bengal expedition. After some time he rebelled but was brought again under imperial control.[2]

Raja Sangram, described by Abu'l Fazl as the zamīndār of Kharagpur, was an important chieftain of Bihar. His chieftancy was situated in the sarkār of Munger. Sangram submitted to the Mughals in 1574-75.[3] and remained loyal thereafter till he rebelled in the early years of Jehangir and was killed by the imperial forces.[4] But his successors remained loyal and served under the Mughals. The exact area under their domination is not mentioned in our sources from Akbar's reign, but from a farmān of Jahangir it appears that their chieftancy included the pargana of Haveli Kharakpur,

1. Ā'īn, p.418.
2. Akbarnāma, III, pp.321, 461-62, 576-77.
3. Akbarnāma, III, p.107.
4. Tuzuk, p.39; Iqbālnāma-i Jahāngīrī, p.21.

parganas of Sakhrabad, Parbatpore, Chandori, Kathuria, Chandure, Passai Sathiori, Godda, Damre, Sankhwara, Hazar Tuki, Hamduo and Amlu Muliya etc.[1]

The region of Kokra was also under untonomous chiefs. The first chief of the family during the reign of Akbar was Madho Singh. The territory was also known as Jharkhand; it is in the Chotanagpur region, situated around the southern hills. Madho Singh submitted in the 30th regnal year of Akbar after his defeat at the hands of Shahbaz Khan Kambu when he promised to pay mālguzārī.[2]

The chieftancy of Seor lay in the sarkār of Bihar.[3] Its chiefs submitted to the Mughals in 1577-78, when he agreed to send 30,000 rupees and 20 elephants.[4]

Another chieftancy, not mentioned in the sources of Akbar's period, but recorded in later accounts as being under

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1. Cf. Hunter, vol. 15, pp. 178-81; R.K. Chaudhary,'History of Tappa Chanduary'(Bhagalpur)', JBRS, vol. XLII, pt.III & IV, 1956, p.335.

2. Akbarnāma, III, p.479. Maāsir-al Umarā, II, pp.590-601.

3. Āīn, p.418.

4. Arif Qandhāri, Tārīkh-i Akbarī, ed. I.A. Arshi & C., Rampur, 1962, p.226.

a ruler Bir Hamir was that of Panchet.[1] This chieftancy was in the sūba of Bihar, adjacent to the sūba of Bengal.[2] Its chief, Raja Bir Narain held a mansab in the reign of Shahjahan.[3]

Ratanpur is entered in the Ā'īn as a mahāl of Rohtas with a strong fort.[4] This territory was invaded by Abdullah Khan Ferozjung in the 8th regnal year of Shahjahan, forcing the chief Lachmi to pay a huge sum and elephants.[5]

Kalyanpur, in the north of Bihar, was another chieftancy ruled by Kalyan Mal, who was given the title of rāja by Akbar.[6] This chieftancy, (later called the Hathwa Raj) in addition to Kalyanpur,also included the mahāls of Sipah and Husapur[7]. Itsrulers were also known as

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1. Cf. A.R. Khan, Chieftains, p. 173.

2. A.R. Khan is of the opinion that it was neither included in the sūba of Bihar nor of Bengal (Chieftains, p.173). Irfan Habib also shows it outside Bihar (Atlas, sheet 10A, 12A) But the Bādshāhnāma clearly states that it was in the sūba of Bihar (vol. I, pt. II, p.317).

3. Ibid.

4. Ā'īn, pp. 422-23.

5. Bādshāhnāma, vol. I, pt. II, p.84; Ma'āsir-al Umarā, II, pp. 785-86.

6. O'Malley, Sāran, pp. 23-24, 142-46.

7. Ibid.

rājas of Husepur, because the court of the raja was held at that place.[1] The raja it appears, had accepted Mughal sovereignty by 1582-83.[2]

The chief of Champaran, Udai Karan, is mentioned by Abul Fazl[3], though he does not give the name of the exact place or seat of the said chief. It seems that Udaikaran was the leading chief of Champaran.[4] He submitted to the Mughals in 1575-76.[5] There is no account of this family in the later accounts. The most powerful chieftancy of this region in the subsequent period was that of the Bettiah Raj, which spanned the parganas of Majhuwa and Simraun. Perhaps its ruling family was a branch of the family of Udai Karan which came into prominence during the reign of Shahjahan when its chief, Gaj Singh, was given the title of rāja.[6]

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1. Ibid, pp. 142-46 Also see L.N. Ghose, The Modern History of the Indian Chiefs, Rajas and Zamindars & C. pt. II, Calcutta, ~~Calcutta~~, 1881, p.423.
2. A.R. Khan, Chieftains, p.168.
3. Akbarnāma, III, p.136.
4. A.R. Khan, pp. 167-68.
5. Akbarnāma, III, pp. 136-37.
6. O'Malley, Champaran, p. 135; Hunter, XIII, p.252.

In addition to these main chieftancies which find mention in the contemporary records, there were many others that are referred to in the later accounts. The rulers of many of these attained the status of raja during the Mughal period, while others existed even before the Mughals but are not mentioned in the contemporary records. I have, however, traced the origin of such chiefs on the basis of some extent records preserved in the later accounts. I will discuss here some of the important ones.

Colgong (the mahāl of Kahalgaon), in the sarkār of Monghyr[1], arose as an autonomous chieftancy in the 16th century.[2] The chieftancy of Chai in the pargana Chai of Monghyr[3] also came into existence in the 16th century. It was established by a branch of the chiefs of Kharagpur.[4] Alamnagar (in Bhagalpur) was its principal seat.[5] Another chieftancy in Monghyr was in Tappa Chanduary of Bhagalpur. The geneology of the family has been traced from the time of Akbar, Chatur, the founder of the Raj, purchased it from

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1. Āīn, pp. 419-20.
2. Hunter, vol. XIV, pp.245-46.
3. Āīn, pp. 419-20.
4. Hunter, XIV, pp. 242-43.
5. Ibid., pp. 91-92.

Jujhar Rai who was either a co-sharer in the Kharagpur Raj or perhaps was the chief of the Khatauris who were dominant in that region.[1]

The chieftancy of Garhi, situated on the border of the sūbas of Bihar and Bengal, was conferred by Raja Man Singh in 1600 A.D. on Ran Bhim in return for his help in the Bengal expedition.[2] Udho Singh, the third in descent, was made to appear before Shahjahan in 1642 when the territory was bestowed on him by the emperor. He was also given the title of rāja on the condition of his embracing Islam.[3]

The Deoraj family of Gaya was an old established ruling family of the Sisodia Rajputs who founded the chieftancy during the Mughal rule.[4]

The Bhagwanpur Raj was established by Maharaj Lachmimal in the 16th century in mauza Bhagwanpur. A Rajput by descent, he came to Bihar from Sakri, near Delhi, and held possession of Chaynpur and Chausa.[5]

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1. Chaudhary, 'Chauduari', JBRS, vol. XLII, 1956, pp. 335-36.
2. K.K. Basu, "Teliagarhi", IHRC, 35, pt. II, 1960, pp.51-55.
3. Ibid.
4. Ghose, Indian Chiefs, p. 426.
5. Ghose, Indian chiefs, p. 437.

The Ramnagar chieftains trace their descent to Ratan Singh of Chittor. They established themselves in Ramnagar, 30 miles to the north-west of Bettiah in Champaran. The chiefs were given the title of rāja by Aurangzeb in 1676.[1]

The origin and rise of another chieftancy generally known as the Darbhanga Raj is very interesting. One Mahesh Thakur was given the rights of Chaudhrāi and qānūngoi of Tirhut in Akbar's reign and the family received additional favours and extension in their superior rights from the subsequent Mughal Emperors. It attained the position of almost a semi-autonomous chieftancy by the time of Aurangzeb, and ultimately Ragu Singh in 1720 got the title of rāja.[2]

A general survey of the geographical distribution of chieftancies in Bihar shows that most of them were located in the peripheral regions, amidst forests and in the hilly tracts of south Bihar.[3] As shownelsewhere, the hilly tracts of Munger had the largest number of such principalities. The chieftancies in the north were also situated, by and

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1. O'Malley, Champaran, p. 159; Hunter, vol. XIII, p.252.

2. Jha, History of Darbhanga, (Typed copy in Darbhanga Archives, p.6); Q. Ahmad, "Darbhanga Raj", IHRC, v.36, pt. II, pp. 89-98; Hunter, vol. XIII, p.210.

3. Beams is of the opinion that the whole country south of plaines in the sarkārs of Bihar & Rohtas was ruled by Chieftains (Beams, "Geography of Sūba Bihar", JASB, vol. LIV, 1885, pp. 168, 181).

large, in those regions of Saran and Champaran where forest abounded. The remarks of Manucci and Pelsaert that in Hindustan the tracts ruled by the rājas and 'princely' zamīndārs are usually to be found only behind mountains and forests, seems in complete agreement with the geographical distribution of chieftancies in Bihar noted by us.[1]

The relations between the chiefs and the Mughal State were not invariably cordial. Though Akbar, in general, adopted the policy of wooing the independent or autonomous chiefs, the chiefs of Bihar seem to have been generally left out. No chieftain in Bihar was given any mansab or rank during the reign of Akbar.[2] The reason appears to have been that most of the powerful chiefs were not fully brought under control. For example, the Ujjaniyas, the masters of the most extensive territories, could be fully subjugated only in the 44th regnal year of Akbar (1599-1600).[3]

After Akbar, many of the Bihar chieftains were absorbed in the Mughal ruling class and were given suitable ranks. During the reign of Shahjahan, as many as five chieftains

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1. Manucci, Storia Do Mogor, II, p.444; Pelsaert, Jahangir's India, ed. & tr. from Dutch by W.H. Moreland and P. Geyl, reprint, Delhi, 1972, pp. 58-59.

2. A.R. Khan, Chieftains, p.173.

3. A.N. III, p. 750.

held mansabs.

The procedure of bestowing mansab or rank has been described in the Bādshāhnāma in the case of Pratab Cheru, the Raja of Palamau.[1] Itiqad Khan, the governor of Bihar, (1644-48) was asked to march against this rebellions chief. The Raja agreed to pay one lakh of rupees as peshkash. His chieftancy, valued at one kror dāms, was given back to him; subsequently, he was taken in the Imperial service and given a mansab of 1000 zāt and 1000 sawār. Thus, the chief was asked to retain his territory but, legally, now he held it is assignment from the superor and not as an independent ruler.[2] This sort of assignment was considered a special type of jāgīr, non-transferrable and hereditary, known in official terminology as watan jāgīr.[3] Probably the same procedure was followed in the case of other chiefs in Bihar holding a mansab.

Raja Narain Mal Ujjaniya, also known as Pratap Ujjaniya, was given amansab of 1000 zāt and 1000 sawār during the reign of Jahangir.[4] Pratap rose to the rank of 1500 zāt

1. Bādshāhnāma, II, pp. 360-61.
2. Ibid; also see Moreland, Agrarian System, p. 267.
3. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p.184.
4. Tawārīkh-i Ujjaniya, II, p.34. It says that the Raja reached the rank of 7000 which is baseless.

and 1000 sawār during the first regnal year of Shahjahan [1], and he retained it till his death in 1637.[2] His successor, Gokul Ujjaniya, also held a mansab of 1000 zāt and 1000 sawār in 1656.[3]

Raja Roz Afzun of Kharakpur was given a mansab of 1500 zāt and 700 sawār during the reign of Jahangir.[4] His rank was enhanced to 2000 zāt and 1000 sawār during Shahjahan's time.[5] This was the highest mansab given to any chief in Bihar. His son, Raja Bahroz, was given a rank of 700 zāt and 500 sawār, and then 700 zāt and 550 sawār during Shahjahan's reign.[6] Which rose to 700 zāt and 700 sawār under Aurangzeb.[7] Bir Narain, the Raja of Panchet (Pachet),

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1. Bādshāhnāma, I, pt. I, p.221.
2. Ibid., I, pt. II, p.305; 'Amal-i Sāleh, III, p.462.
3. B.P. Ambashthya, 'Some Letters from Jaipur Records (Hindi)', IHRC, vol. 35, 1960, pp. 29-30.
4. Maāsir-al Umarā, II, p.218.
5. Bādshāhnāma, I, pt. II, p.303; 'Amal-i Sāleh, III, p.459.
6. Bādshāhnāma, I, pt. II, p.316; Ibid., II, p.742.
7. 'Amal-i Sāleh, III, p.475.

was given mansab of 700 zāt and 300 sawār during the reign of Shahjahan. He died in the 6th regnal year.[1]

In Bihar, the mansab holders were generally the heads of the ruling families with exception of Kharakpur chief, Raja Roz Afzun, whose son, Bahruz, also received a mansab during the reign of Shahjahan.

The relation between the chiefs and Mughal administration were not by any means of a single kind. Some, as we have shown above, were absorbed in the Mughal administration and were given mansab. The Ujjaniya rajas and those of Kharakpur, Palamau and Panchet may be put in this category. There were other chiefs who were not given any mansab, even though they rendered military service in and around their territories. These were the rajas of Gidhaur, Champaran Kalyanpur, etc. The rest of the chieftains were supposed to pay peshkash only.

The peculiarity of the Bihar chiefs is that they were generally asked to serve and help the Mughal authorities in and around Bihar. The only exception was the Raja of Kharakpur, Roz Afzun and his son Bahruz, who were deputed

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1. Bādshāhnāma, I, pt. II, p.313.

to expeditions to distant places like Kabul and Qandahar.[1]

As regards matrimonial alliances between the chieftains of Bihar and the Mughals, only one case is recorded: the daughter of Dalpat, the Ujjaniya chief, was given in marriage to Prince Daniyal.[2]

The chiefs, who submitted to the Mughals, were allowed much latitude in the internal administration of their territory, such as the collection of land revenue. They were free to impose taxes on the merchandise passing through their area. However, one case of imperial interference from Bihar comes to light: Shahjahan forbade a certain Rāja of Bihar from charging heavily from the merchants passing through his territories,[3] because the charges were exorbitant and, hence, complaint to this effect were made to the Emperor.[4]

The chiefs, like the Mughal government, used to grant land for religious and other purposes. One such grant for Vishnupreet (worship of God Vishnu) dated 1109 A.H.(was made by a Ujjaniya Raja.[5] Likewise, they often gave

1. Maāsir-al- Umarā, II, pp. 218-19.
2. Akbārnāma, III, p.826.
3. Farmān no. 69, Bihar State Archives, Patna. The translation of the farman is given in K.K. Datta, Some Firmans, Sanads and Parwanas, p. 10.
4. K.K. Datta, Some Firmāns, p.10.
5. Tawārīkh-i Ujjaniya, II, p.108.

jāgīrs to their subordinate staff and officers in lieu of their pay.[1]

The payment of peshkash and tribute was a mark of submission. It is difficult to determine the exact amount of peshkash paid by the chiefs. Equally difficult it is to ascertain the periodicity of such payments, i.e. whether it was yearly or half-yearly.[2] The Revenue statistics of every pargana, including the chief's territories, is given in the Ā'īn and other contemporary administrative manuals. The revenue figures of the chief's territories might have been used by the imperial authorities to fix the amount of peshkash in proportion to jama'.

Peshkash was generally presented at the time of submission or whenever the Emperor, princes or their representatives (high mansabdārs, etc.) passed through their territories. It was paid either in cash or kind. When in kind, it consisted of valuable commodities or the rarities of the region. In Bihar, besides cash, elephants were the main items to be presented as peshkash. In the 35th regnal year of Akbar, the Rajas of Kharakpur and Gidhaur are said to have offered elephants.[3] Dalpat Ujjaniya, in his peshkash, included

1. Ibid., pp. 54-55; Also see Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p. 186.
2. For a discussion about tribute see A.R. Khan, Chieftains, pp. 210-12.
3. Akbarnāma, III, p.576.

elephants for Prince Daniyal.[1] The Rāja of Seor presented 20 elephants along with 30,000 rupees.[2] The region of Kokhra being rich in diamonds, its Rāja in variably included diamonds in his peshkash.[3] At one place, the tribute paid by the Kokhra chief is called as mālguzāri.[4]

The Mughals also reserved to themselves the right of recognition given to the successor of a deceased Raja. When acted upon, this transformed the right of paramountcy dependent on the goodwill of the Emperor rather than on his inherent right.[5] But this right as far as Bihar is concerned was scarcely applied and that, too in extra-ordinary circumstances. For example, when Sangram, the rāja of Kharakpur, rebelled and was killed in 1606, his successor was not named for some time. Ultimately, the chieftancy was restored to his son, Roz Afzun, on condition of his embracing Islam.[6] Similarly, the family records of the chiefs of Garhi show that Raja

1. Ibid., p.750.
2. Arif Qandhāri, p.226.
3. Tuzuk, pp. 154-55.
4. Akbarnāma, III, p.479.
5. Nurul Hasan, "The Zamīndārs & C", op.cit., pp.107-119.
6. Maāsir-al Umarā, II, pp.218-19; Also see Hunter, XV, pp. 178-81. Hunter's account is based on family records.

Udho Singh, third in descent, had to appear at the court of Shah jahan and was recognised as the legal successor only on the condition of his conversion to Islam.[1]

In spite of the attempts of the Mughals to bring the chiefs into the structure of the Mughal polity and to lay down principles for regulating relations between the two, our contemporary sources are replete with accounts of confrontations between the Mughal state and the chiefs. As we have already noticed, most of the Bihar chieftains accepted the Mughal suzerainty after 1572 A.D.; yet, almost all of them revolted at one time or the other against the imperial authority.

Raja Sangram of Kharakpur, though he submitted in 1574-75[2], took to the path of rebellion in the 30th and 35th regnal years of Akbar, whereupon Shahbaz Khan and Man Singh were sent to subdue him.[3] In the first year of Jehangir's reign, he again revolted and was killed.[4]

1. K.K. Basu, "Telliagarhi & C", op.cit., pp.51-55.
2. Akbarnāma, III, p.418.
3. Ibid., pp.460-61, 576; Maāsir-al Umarā, pp.218-19.
4. Iqbāl Nāma-i Jahāngīrī, p.21; Tuzuk, p.39.

Puran Mal, the Raja of Gidhaur, who submitted in the 19th regnal year of Akbar, was also not consistent in his allegiance to the Mughals. He helped the rebels in 1580-81[1], but in 1585-86 he served under Shahbaz Khan, the Mughal commander.[2] He again snapped his allegiance in 1590-91, but was forced to come to terms with Raja Man Singh.[3]

The Raja of Kokhra came under the Mughal domination in the 30th regnal year of Akbar,[4] but frequent expeditions had to be sent to control his way wordness.[5] Similarly, the Raja of Palamau accepted Mughal overlord ship after repeated attacks in the 17th regnal year of Shahjahan.[6] He was even given a mansab, but became recalcitrant later and could be suppressed only after a fierce fight in 1662.[7]

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1. Akbarnāma, III, p.321.
2. Ibid., pp. 461-62.
3. Ibid., pp. 576-77.
4. Akbarnāma, III, p.479.
5. Tuzuk, pp. 154-55.
6. Bādshāhnāma, II, pp. 260-61.
7. Maāsir-i ʿĀlamgīrī, pp. 37-38; ʿĀlamgīr nāma, pp.648-60.

The Ujjaniya Raja had submitted by the 17th regnal year of Akbar, but he revolted in the 21st regnal year.[1] Again, in the 25th regnal year, he broke his bond of loyalty and was ultimately reconciled by the 44th regnal year.[2] Another Ujjaniya chief, Pratap, who held a mansab of 1500 zāt and 1000 sawār in the first year of Shahjahan's reign[3] revolted after a few years and could be subdued only in the 10th year.[4]

What possibly could have been the causes of frequent rebellious conduct of the chieftains ? One reason perhaps was that the chiefs thought that their subjugation to the Mughals deprived them of a part of their economic resources, i.e. they had to pay peshkah and supply troops, etc. The contemporary accounts do not provide the details of the causes of dissatisfaction of the chieftains. They generally note that such and such chief was acting in a rebellious way and defying the imperial authority. On one occassion it is said that when the Raja of Palamau delayed the payment of tribute and rebelled an expedition was

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1. Akbarnāma, III, pp 168-70, 185-89; Badāūni, II, pp.237-38; Tabaqat, II, pp.324-25.
2. Akbarnāma, III, p.750.
3. Bādshāhnāma, I, pt. I, p.221.
4. Ibid, I, pt. II, pp.271-74, 305.

sent against him.[1] Confrontation also took place if the Mughal officers and the chiefs were not on coordial terms, as was the case between Shahbaz Khan and Sangram the, Raja of Kharakpur.[2] Whenever the chiefs got an opportunity to defy the imperial authority, they came out in the open for confrontation.

Geographical location of the chiefs territories, situated as they were amidst dense forests and hilly tracts, not easily accessible to the Mughal forces, might also have encouraged them to revolt. For example, Gajpati, the Ujjaniya Raja, who revolted in 1576-77, took shelter in the fort of Jagdispur. Where the "Mughal soldiers took two months in cutting down the trees around the dwelling".[3] The reason for the rebellious attitude of Madho Singh, the raja of Kokhra, too, has been ascribed by Abul Fazl to the "hilly tracts which were difficult to cross".[4] About

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1. Maāsir-al Umarā, II, pp.34-36.
2. Akbarnāma, III, pp. 461-62.
3. Akbarnāma, III, pp. 186-89.
4. Ibid., p.479.

Kokhra, Jahangir writes: "Although the governers of the sūba frequently sent armies against him and went there themselves, in consequence of the difficult roads and thickness of the forest they contended themselves with taking two or three diamonds and left him in his former condition".[1] Similarly, the difficulty in subduing Palamau was ascribed to its location in dense forests.[2] Besdies the geographical peculiarities, most of these chiefs had strong forts, generally on hill tops.[3] Arif Qandhari writes: "There are nearly two or three hundred zamīndār chiefs. Their supression is very difficult as they possess strong forts. If they are able to hold on to each one of the forts, say, for six months or one year, they can be contented about their safety for the next two or three hundred years".[4] It took the royal army months to conquer the forts of Jagdispur and Shergarh, the strongholds of the Ujjaniyas.[5] The statistical accounts of the Āīn shows existence of strong forts in the domains of the chieftains.[6]

1. Tuzuk, pp. 154-55.
2. 'Ālamgīrnāma, pp. 648-60.
3. Ibid, pp. 648-60.
4. Tārīkh-i Akbarī, p. 47.
5. Akbarnāma, III, pp. 186-89.
6. For example, the forts of Seor, Gidhaur and Ratanpur are mentioned in the statistical tables of Bihar, Āīn, II, pp. 418-23.

On occassions when rebellious nobles or princes revolted or in the struggle for succession to the Mughal throne the chiefs often chose to join the hands of refractory elements. In the 25th regnal year of Akbar, when the officers of Bengal and Bihar defied the Mughal state, the chieftains of Ujjaniya and Gidhaur threw their weight with the rebels.[1] During the war of succession among the sons of Shahjahan, every one of them tried to muster the support of the chiefs. Princes Shuja and Dara both appealed to Raj Dal Singh of Gidhaur to help them with his armed retainers.[2] Dara even went to the extent of persuading him to capture Kharakpur as Raja Bahroz had declined to help him.[3] Dara raised the mansab of Gokul Ujjaniya to 1000 zāt and 800 sawār for his help in the war against his brothers.[4]

There are many references to chiefs trying to throw off the imperial control whenever there was a political change at the highest level. For example, the accession of Jahangir and the rebellion of Prince Khusrau encouraged

1. Akbarnāma, III, pp.321-25, 331.
2. B.P. Ambashthya, 'Firmāns & C', JBRS, 43, op.cit,pp.224-26.
3. Ibid.
4. B.P. Ambashthya,'Some Letters from Jaipur Records & C', IHRC, vol. 35, pt. II, 1960, pp.23-30.

the Kharakpur chief, Sangram, to make an attempt to recover his independence.[1]

The most striking feature emerging from these conflicts is that inspite of repeated attempts of rebellions, none of the chieftains was ever punished or dispossessed on a permanent basis. Not even the chief of Palamau, who in a span of 30 years, revolted four times, and the Mughal authorities had to take great pains in subjugating him. Generally, all the conflicts between the Mughals and chieftains ended in compromise and, therefore, not a single chief in Bihar was ever replaced by the Mughal state. In rare cases, however, when a change was made, it was only from among the heirs of the rebellious chiefs. In fact, the Mughal state was not inclined to complicate matters after the ruling family had accepted its overlordship. Even when they rebelled, the chieftancy was restored to the old family. The Mughal state had no option because such territories were not easily accessible situated as they were amidst forests and hilly region. Badauni[2] writes about Raja Gajapati whose strength & army was such "that

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1. Tuzuk, p.39. Iqbālnāma, p.21; also see the description of Hunter based on family records (Hunter, vol.XV, pp. 178-81).

2. Badāūnī, Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh, II, pp.179-80.

for the space of two years he had kept ~~the~~ Khan Zaman uselessly employed in jungle-cutting and fighting and even yet that jungle is not clear as it ought to be". In addition, the chiefs drew their main support from their caste and clansmen, and were generally a considerably formidable force in their own area. It was, therefore, not possible for any out siders to control the people of the territory. These strong caste and clan affiliations of the chiefs forbade the Mughal authorities from dislodging them. Dalpat Ujjaniya, Pratap Ujjaniya and Roz Afzun, after years of confinement at the imperial court, had finally to be reinstated because their removal would have generated local dissatisfaction.

The chieftains, it seems, fully realized this plight of the Mughals and, therefore, they never missed on opportunity to stand up in arms against them to regain their earlier autonomy.

APPENDIX -A

As has already been discussed, zamīndārī was hereditary, but our 17th century sources do not throw sufficient light on the manner the different shares were inherited. The English East India Company officials tried to investigate the actual situation with the help of documents available from the Mughal period. They could even reconstruct the division of certain zamīndārīs among the heirs. The picture that emerges is that both the male and female heirs were entitled to succession. One report prepared in Bhagalpur (1787) for the use of the Revenue Board laid down the procedure of succession to a zamīndārī[1] as follows:

> "If a zamindar dies without issues, but leaves widow and effects if they were acquired by himself or attained to him in a division of family property, do not diverse to the brother but in such case become the property of the deceased were originally acquired by his father or grand father they then became the property of the brothers. But in case of the brothers minority or disgust for business, and

1. Bhagalpur Records, vol. 6, "Letter dated 3rd Dec. 1787 by R. Adair, Collector of Bhagalpur to C.G. Mayer of the Revenue Department.

> management of the zamindary the widow shall appoint a relation of the family who is eligible to the trust to take charge of the zamindari or appoint such a person Naib or by or with the advice of such a relative any other person may be so appointed or should not such a relation be found then by the advice of the Rajahs of the country, whatever is thought proper may be done and the brother and nephew of the deceased will receive a maintainance".

A very interesting document from the 18th century throws much light on the point of succession. It is an account prepared by the revenue officers concerning the zamīndārī of Haveli Munger (Sorkar Munger). Haveli Munger was divided into 11 zamīndārī, out of these 5 and 4 were in the possession of the descendants of two zamīndārs Heera Ram (946 A.H.) and Ram Roy (916 A.H.) respectively.[1] The tables attached here show the manner in which the two zamīndārīs were divided into smaller tarfs.[2]

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1. British Parliamentary Papers, III, pp.238-40.

2. Ibid., p.239.

TABLE I

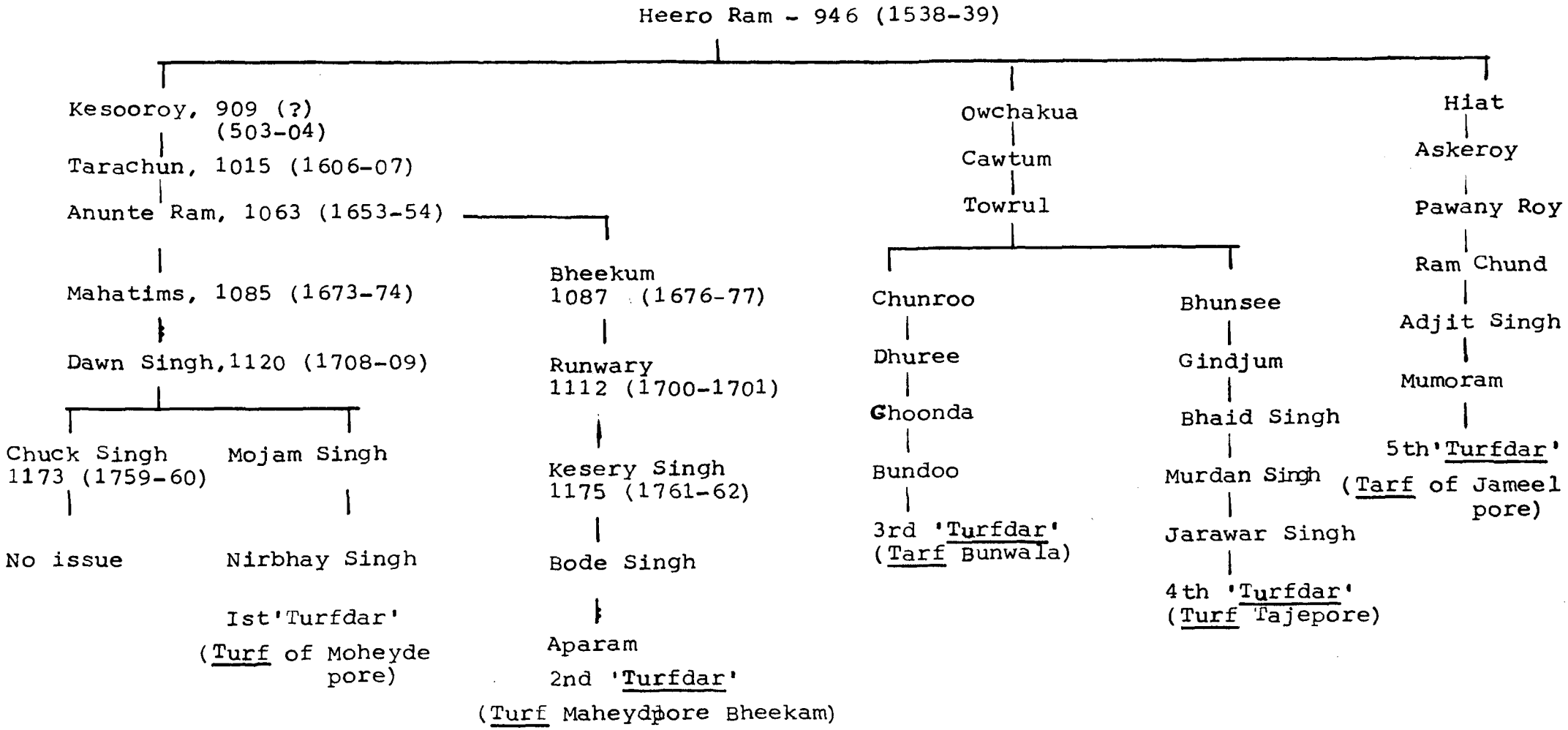
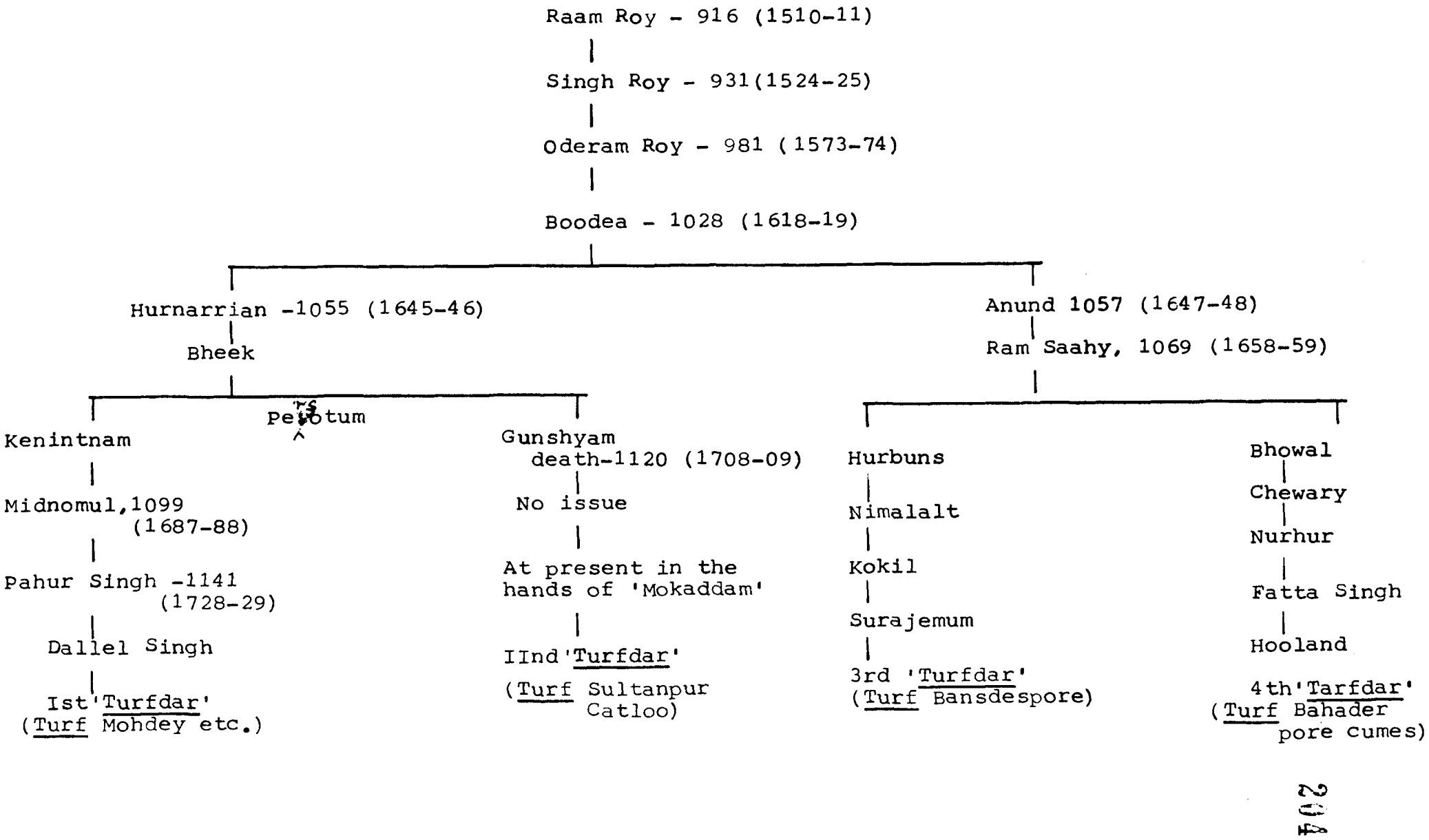

Heero Ram - 946 (1538-39)
Kesooroy, 909 (?) (503-04)
Tarachun, 1015 (1606-07)
Anunte Ram, 1063 (1653-54)
Mahatims, 1085 (1673-74)
Dawn Singh, 1120 (1708-09)
Chuck Singh 1173 (1759-60)
No issue
Mojam Singh
Nirbhay Singh
Ist 'Turfdar'
(Turf of Moheyde pore)
Bheekum 1087 (1676-77)
Runwary 1112 (1700-1701)
Kesery Singh 1175 (1761-62)
Bode Singh
Aparam
2nd 'Turfdar'
(Turf Maheydpore Bheekam)
Owchakua
Cawtum
Towrul
Chunroo
Dhuree
Ghoonda
Bundoo
3rd 'Turfdar'
(Tarf Bunwala)
Bhunsee
Gindjum
Bhaid Singh
Murdan Singh
Jarawar Singh
4th 'Turfdar'
(Turf Tajepore)
Hiat
Askeroy
Pawany Roy
Ram Chund
Adjit Singh
Mumoram
5th 'Turfdar'
(Tarf of Jameel pore)

TABLE II


Raam Roy - 916 (1510-11)
Singh Roy - 931(1524-25)
Oderam Roy - 981 (1573-74)
Boodea - 1028 (1618-19)
Hurnarrian -1055 (1645-46)
Bheek
Peerotum
Kenintnam
Midnomul,1099 (1687-88)
Pahur Singh -1141 (1728-29)
Dallel Singh
Ist 'Turfdar' (Turf Mohdey etc.)
Gunshyam death-1120 (1708-09)
No issue
At present in the hands of 'Mokaddam'
IInd 'Turfdar' (Turf Sultanpur Catloo)
Anund 1057 (1647-48)
Ram Saahy, 1069 (1658-59)
Hurbuns
Nimalalt
Kokil
Surajemum
3rd 'Turfdar' (Turf Bansdespore)
Bhowal
Chewary
Nurhur
Fatta Singh
Hooland
4th 'Tarfdar' (Turf Bahader pore cumes)

CHAPTER VI

LAND REVENUE

As the major source of income of the Mughal state came from land revenue, a study of the magnitude of land revenue and mode of assessment in Bihar is crucial for the proper understanding of the economy of the sūba.

Magnitude of Demand & Methods of Assessment:

There are numerous statements in our sources which define land revenue as amounting to a particular portion of the peasant's produce and from which it appears that land revenue accounted for a very large part of the peasant's surplus (produce above what was required for his subsistence).[1]

There is, however, no evidence relating specifically to the magnitude of land revenue demand in Bihar. In its absence, therefore, the general evidence about the rate of land revenue demand in the Mughal Empire may be deemed to have been applicable to Bihar as well. Abul Fazl informs us that in Sher Shah's time the state demand was set at one-third of the total produce.[2] The demand under zabt in Akbar's reign

1. For details of the magnitude of the land revenue demand in different regions of the Mughal Empire, see Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, pp.190-96.

2. Āīn, pp.297-300; Moreland, 'Sher Shah's Revenue System', JRAS, V, 1926, pp. 452, 454.

is said to have (theoretically) approximated to one-third of the actual produce.[1] The proportion fixed for crop-sharing and kankūt under Akbar are not known. But, according to an accountancy manual of Shahjahan's reign, it appears that the rate of one-half of the produce was adopted under kankūt for all the rabi crops except wheat (the rate for which was put at one-third) and that of a third of the produce uniformly for all crops of the Kharīf harvest under crop-sharing.[2] Aurangzeb's farmān to Rasik Das also shows that the state's share under crop-sharing was fixed at one-third of the produce.[3]

Thus, it appears that the revenue demand, as stated in official documents, varied between a third to half of the produce (though in actual practice much more could have been taken) throughout our period in different parts of the empire which ~~this~~ was perhaps true for Bihar, too.

Besides what the peasants paid to the state as land-revenue they were burdened with other fiscal claims, and both

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1. The real rate, however, exceeded the set proportion, and was often much above one-third (see Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p.196).

2. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p.193.

3. Cf. J.N. Sarkar, JASB, New series no. 2, 1906, pp.223-55.

regular and irregular exactions of the officials which, if taken into account, we will find that the peasants had actually to part with much larger part of his produce than a third or one-half.

According to the report of English East India Company's revenue department prepared by John Shore in 1790, the share of the raiyat, after making all the deductions (including the charges of revenue officials), was as little as 22 ser to 13 ser per maund, depending on the quality of land. The raiyat's share per maund in a few turfs of Munger was:[1]

	Ser		Chhatak
Kheel Land[2]	22	-	4
Kunhul[3] Land	17	-	4
Pah[4] Land	13	-	8

Thus the peasant after paying the land-revenue and other dues was left with about half to one-third of the produce and some times even less.

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1. British Parliamentary Papers, III, pp.240-42. The raiyat's share in one turf was as low as 10 sers 12 chhatak in pah land.
2. Kheel was the land which was recently brought under cultivation.
3. Kunhul was the land which was under cultivation for a few years.
4. Pah was the land under cultivation for a long time.

Though there is no concrete evidence of this kind regarding the share of the peasant in Bihar in the earlier period, there is perhaps little to expect that the share of the state under the Mughals could have been any higher.

The arrangement for land-revenue assessment appears to have varied over time and seems to have been different in the various parts of the sūba[1]. Prior to the reorganization of the sūba under Akbar, both crop-sharing and measurement were perhaps prevalent. Farid (later Shershah) is said to have given the option to the raʻīyat (in his father's jagīr in Bihar) of choosing between crop-sharing (ghalla Bakshi or batāʻī) and measurement (jarīb)[2]. The former was a method of assessment as well as collection in which the harvest was divided between the state and the cultivator. The latter practice was probably identical with kankūt[3]. Sher Shah,

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1. For the different methods in certain regions, such as Gujarat, Kashmir & Bengal, see Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, pp. 190-96.

2. Abbas Khan, Tuhfa-i Akbar Shāhi, Elliot & Downson, Vol. 4, p.313. For details of Farid's land-revenue administration see Nurul Hasan, "Revenue Administration of the Jagir of Sahasram by Farid (Sher Shah)", PIHC, 1966, Ranchi; Moreland, 'Sher Shah's Revenue System', op.cit., pp.447-59; P. Saran, 'Sher Shah's Revenue System', JBORS, Vol.XVII, pt. I, 1931, pp.136-148.

3. Kankūt was a method of assessment wherein the yield of each crop per unit area (crop-rate) was first estimated and then applied to the whole area under the respective crop (see Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p.98).

after ascending the throne, tried to bring the whole empire under the zabt.[1] As regards the mode of revenue under Akbar and his successors, it is a bit difficult to arrive at any definite conclusion because of the two statements of Abul Fazl which are somewhat misleading. First, he declares that ghalla & bakshī was not in practice in Bihar.[2] This is obviously incorrect as our discussion (with specific instances) later in this chapter, will show. In fact, this was a method by which quite a sizeable part of the sūba was assessed. Secondly, in his account of the sūba statistics in the Ā'īn, he states that out of a total of 200 parganas in Bihar 138 were zabtī.[3] He also records the detailed sarkār-wise statistical tables wherein he gives the measured area statistics (arāzī) of these parganās. This evidence has been used to infer that by the time of the compilation of the Ā'īn, three-fourths of the total area of Bihar was brought under zabt.[4] It is however difficult to overlook the fact that the Ā'īn

1. Ā'īn, I, p.296. Under the Zabt system, the productivity of different crops per bīgha was found and the current price of the crops was taken into account. On this basis, the state's share for different crops per bīgha in cash was fixed. For the evaluation and details of the zabt system, see Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, pp. 200-215.

2. Ā'īn, p.416.

3. Ibid.

4. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p.221.

surprisingly does not give the dastūr circles of Bihar as for all the other zabti provinces. Thus the absence of cash-revenue rates or dastūr one the one hand, and the recording of measured area-figures on the other, suggests that the mode of assessment, atleast in the 138 parganas (though not strictly of the kind practiced in the 'zabti provinces'), was at the same time based on measurement. Abul Fazl has perhaps loosely used the term to signify measurement and cash payment. On the whole, the evidence, especially the Āīn's area-statistics, tend to suggest that here the revenue was largely assessed by the use of the measured area-figures and, therefore, the employed method may safely be said to have been that of Zabt-i Kankūt.[1]

However a study of the jama' and ārāzī ratio of even these 138 parganas which are stated to be zabtī and which we have shown to have been under zabt-i kankūt shows that they have a very high revenue-incidence fluctuating between 78 and 60 dāms per bīgha (As shown in Table I).

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1. For the definition of kankūt in the 17th & 18th century Manuals where the assessor is asked to (first) bring the land under zabt & Co. Cf. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p. 200 & n.

Sarkār	Jama' (j)* in dāms	Ārāzī (a) in bīghā-i Ilāhī	j/a
Bihar	7,49,04,990	9,53,587	78.63
Champaran	55,13,420	85,711	64.32
Hajipur	2,64,60,435	4,36,951	60.55
Tirhut	1,73,03,662	2,66,464	65.96
Saran	1,57,72,304	2,29,052	68.85
Rohtas	3,45,65,016	4,73,330	73.02
Munger	2,96,22,181	-	-

(Ā'īn-i Akbarī, pp. 417-23)

This rate seems exceptionally high when set against the jama'/ārāzī ratio of the other sūbas explicitly stated to be zabtī and, therefore, almost fully measured, such as Awadh, Agra, Delhi & Lahore, which is 20, 19, 29 & 34 dāms respectively.[1] Thus the high jama' / ārāzī ratio in the measured parganas of Bihar clearly indicates that large parts of these parganas remained unmeasured. Such low state of measurement in these

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* The jama' of the parganas for which the ārāzī is not given, has been excluded from the stated total.

1. See Ā'īn, pp. 434, 442-43, 517-18, 539.

areas in turn suggests that a sizable portion of the sūba must have been assessed by some other method not based upon measurement. But there was perhaps an increasing tendency on the part of the administration to bring more areas under assessment by measurement as is evident from the measured area-statistics of Aurangzeb's reign which show an increase of almost three times over the Āīn's figures.[1]

As regards the parganas for which no ārāzī is given in the Āīn (such as the region to the south of sarkār Bihar, sarkār of Munger and other hilly tracts), they were naturally covered by other methods. It appears from the Collector's report of 1793 that in the former region no measurement had taken place even as late as the close of the 18th century. About Panchet, Ramgarh and Palamau he reported that "the zamindars in his collectorship were a set of unlettered people thoroughly ignorant about their affairs, unable even to understand the meaning of 'bigha','cottah'".[2]

When the British administration forced the zamīndārs to give patta to the cultivators on the basis of measurement

1. For c.1687 the measured area of Bihar has been recorded as 1,27,53,56 bīgha-i daftarī equivalent to 85,02,104 bīgha-i Ilāhi (see Frazer, 86, f. 596. The Āīn,pp.417-23,gives 24,99,510 bīgha-i Ilāhi.

2. Letter to the Board of Revenue, 17th Aug. 1793 (Cf. R.N. Sinha, Bihar Tenantry, Bombay, 1968, pp.48-49).

the latter submitted that "they were poor miserably zamīndārs and their country was nothing more than woods and mountains which had never been measured".[1] Similarly, the Rāja of panchet (south of Bihar) wrote: "My country abounds in hills and woods, and the villages were never measured - if now I make the measurements the ryots will run away, and the villages will be depopulated."[2] The fear of the Raja regarding the flight of the peasantry was not unfounded. When Raja Mahinath Singh of Ramgarh and Heatly, the collector, tried to distribute patta's, the inhabitants actually fled away and in some cases resorted to violence.[3] The cultivators of Chotanagpur opposed measurement because they held the superstitious belief that some calamity would befall if measurement was carried out.[4] The method of assessment as described by the Raja of Pachet runs as follows: " A mahatto takes a Pattah for a village, and then divides the land into 16 parts to the ryots who cultivate it, and pay the revenue yearly to me. There never has been a Ruckbabundy in my country nor do me know what a Ruckbabundy is"[5]. In Palaman and Ramgarh

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1. Joint petition of zamīndārs enclosed to the letter of collector of Chitra, 17 August, 1793 (Cf. R.N. Sinha, op.cit. p.49).
2. Judicial Civil Proceedings, 27th March, 1794 (Cf. R.N. Sinha, Appendix 'K').
3. Cf. R.N. Sinha, p.50.
4. Letter from A. Seton, Collector of Bihar to Board of Revenue, 6th Jan., 1793 (Cf. R.N. Sinha, p.50).
5. Cf. R.N. Sinha, Appendix 'K'.

districts, and indeed throughout the "Jungal Mahal" tracts, the old customary engagements between the zamīndārs and raiyat's prevailed. In this arrangement for obtaining land, a raiyat first applied to the zamīndār; thereupon, the latter himself, or his representative, went with the raiyat to the spot. The boundaries of the land were laid down by placing stones or some other hand marks. This being done, both the parties agreed upon the quantum of rent, disregarding the actual number of bīghas.[1]

Besides these primitive methods, prevalent in the hilly and forest areas, large number of unmeasured villages must have paid the revenue under the system of sharing. John Shore noted in his minutes of 8th September, 1789 that the custom of sharing the produce between the cultivator and the state was general but not universal in Bihar.[2] Early British surveyors found that in Munger the methods of assessment prevalent were fixed per bīgha rate as well as the sharing of crop (Bhaoli) in the same pargana.[3] The customary deductions also included "kyally" which was a share of the person who

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1. See the "Letter of Collector of Chitra tc the Board of Revenue", 17th Aug., 1793 (R.N. Sinha, p.46).

2. British Parliamentary Papers, Vol. III, p.451.

3. British Parliamentary Papers, Vol. III, pp.240-42. For different sorts of sharing, see Grierson, op.cit., pp. 197-201, 413-16.

weighed the shares between the cultivator and the landlord or state, even if the rent was paid in cash.[1] It shows that the payment in cash was a later practice. Another method of assessment known as hast-o-būd was also prevalent in Bihar.[2] In this method, the revenue officials made "calculation by *conjuncture of the extent and value of each crop*".[3]

Thus the method of assessment in Bihar differed from area to area. It varied not only from one sarkār to another but in the parganas of the same sarkār; and some times even in the villages of the same pargana.

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1. British Parliamentary Papers, III, pp. 240-42.
2. For hust-o-būd, see Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p.198.
3. F. Buchanan, Patna-Gaya Report, II, p.566.

Revenue Officials:

The land revenue administration of the sūba, like other branches of administration, was essentially controlled from the centre, with apparently very little freedom to the provincial officials. Most of the provincial heads of the departments were answerable to their respective ministers at the centre. The revenue administration of the sūba came under the purview of the dīwān-i 'āla at the centre.

The total land for administrative purposes was broadly divided into two: the khālisa (the land whose revenue was reserved for the imperial treasury), and the jāgīr (the land whose revenue was assigned to the mansabdārs in lieu of their cash salary).

The revenue from the khālisa after its collection by imperial revenue officials was handed over to the provincial dīwān who, in turn, despatched it to the royal treasury; while that of the jāgīr was collected by the agents of the respective jāgīrdār with the help of the state revenue officials.

There is hardly any information on the working of the revenue machine in the jāgīrdār's territory for the sūba of Bihar. We will, therefore, confine our study to the imperial officials appointed in the sūba for the assessment and collection

of revenue. Another category of the revenue officials which we propose to study here in some detail are the ones called 'local' officials owing their position partly to birth and partly to imperial authority.[1] The Qānūngo, Chaudhurī, muqaddam, patwāri, etc. may be included in this category.

Dīwān

The dīwān of the sūba was the over-all incharge of the revenue administration. His office maintained all the records relating to jāgīr and khālisa. His functions included the supervision of the revenue staff, work for the extension of agriculture, protection of the peasantry from oppression and implementation of imperial orders in the province.[2]

Āmil and Karorī

In the 19th regnal year of Akbar, the whole empire was divided into divisions, each paying one kror of tanka; the āmil or amalguzār who was appointed for revenue collection was called karorī.[3] When the karorī experiment was abolished, the

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1. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p.274.
2. The detailed functions of the dīwān have already been mentioned in the chaper on General Administration (supra).
3. Akbarnāma, III, p.117; Tabaqāt, II, pp. 300-301.

term karorī continued to have been stuck to the āmil.[1] The 'āmils were appointed in each sarkār and pargana of the province. In the khālisa they collected revenue for the state treasury, while in the jāgīr they helped the jāgīrdār's agent in collection. The functions of the 'āmil have been laid down in detail in the Āīn.[2] His primary functions were to collect revenue and work for the extension of cultivation. He had also to protect the peasants from the tyranny of the zamīndārs and jāgīrdārs. Further, he supervised advances and realization of the tagāvi loans, etc. He was the incharge of the treasury in his territory with a subordinate staff to assist him. Some evidences from the sūba show that one of his functions, among others, was to make assessment of land revenue. When the 'āmil of Saran reported in 1703 that portion of Gangberar land were available in pargana Chirand, orders were issued that the 'āmil should make an assessment of the same and the mālguzāri be deposited in the treasury.[3] However, an important change was made under Shahjahan when the work of assessment was transferred from the karorī/'āmil to the amīn, and thenceforth karorī was to collect what was assessed by amīn.[4] But our evidence as late as 1703, as shown above, establishes that the 'āmil was also asked to make assessment, perhaps in emergency.

1. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p.275.

2. Āīn, pp. 46-50.

3. See K.K. Dutta, Firmāns & C., p.49. For other cases of assessment by the 'āmil, see Ibid, pp. 50, 105.

4. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, pp. 276-77.

Shahjahan's dīwān, Sadullah Khan, introduced a new territorial unit called chakla; it was put under the amīn-faujdār, the karorī now becoming a subordinate to the former.[1]

The 'amalguzār, prior to the changes made in Shahjahan's reign, received 8% of the total collection for himself and his staff which was later reduced to 5%, but in actual practice the percentage varied in different regions.[2] At any rate, there is no reference to his perquisites in Bihar.

The shiqdār described as the administrative officer of the pargana under Shershah and even at the begining of Akbar's reign, appears to have been reduced subsequently to the status of a subordinate collector under the Mughals.[3]

Local Official

The most important functionaries of land revenue administration at the pargana level were the qānūngo and chaudhurī.

The office of the qānūngo was first established by Shershah. There used to be one qānūngo in a pargana under

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1. Ibid, p.277.
2. Ibid, pp. 279-80.
3. Ibid, pp. 275-76.

Shershah and Akbar,[1] but due to the hereditary nature of the office, their number kept on increasing, the number becoming unmanageable under Aurangzeb. The latter ordered that there should be only two qānūngos in one pargana and the rest were be dismissed.[2]

There is no information about the office of the qānūngo in the territories of the autonomous chiefs during the Mughal period. It appears from the 18th century records that it was not a distinct office. Hunter, who traced the history of the Kharagpur Raj on the basis of family records, refers to a farmān of Jahangir which gave its Rāja (Roz Afzan) the qānūngoī rights in a few parganas.[3] During the early British settlement, the chiefs of Kharagpur, Raja Qadir Ali, Nirbhay Singh of Gidhaur and Raja Gopal Singh of Chandar Bookah were recognised as zamīndār and qānūngo of their respective territories.[4] Those who actually worked as qānūngos were unable to produce any documents to establish their rights and were considered merely agents of the said Rājas.[5]

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1. Āīn, p.300; Also see Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p.289.
2. Ibid., p.289.
3. A Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. 15, pp. 178-81.
4. Bhagalpur Records, Vol. 17, pp. 272-92.
5. Ibid.

The qānūngos maintained records of every aspect of land revenue administration.[1]

The Collector of Bhagalpur in 1787 in a letter to John Shore informed him about the working of the qānūngos under the Mughals and gave a detailed list of the papers maintained by them.[2] The documents provide details of the scope and extent of the qānūngo's work (see Appendix D for the nature of such records).

The officials responsible for assessment and collection utilised these records. On the assessment papers and qabūliyat (deed of acceptance of assessed revenue by the peasant), the qānūngo put his signature along with the Chaudhurī and muqaddam. The jāgīrdārs who were frequently transferred normally depended heavily on these records for assessment and collection. All sale and transfer of land documents were registered with the qānūngo and he kept a records there of,[3]

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1. The deposed qānūngos of Sahasram claimed to possess muwazna papers from 1013 to 1074 Faslī, 1604 to 1665 A.D. (see Q. Ahmad, "Public opinion as a factor in the Government Appointments in the Mughal State', IHRC, XXXI, pt. II, 1955, pp. 142-47).

2. Bhagalpur Records, Vol. 6, letter dated 6th December, 1787. Also see J.F.W. James, Selections from the correspondance of the Revenue Chiefs of Bihar (1781-1786), Patna, 1919, pp.165-66.

3. British Parliamentary Papers, III, p.194.

because qānūngo's papers and records were of immense help in deciding all sorts of disputes concerning land, land revenue and grants, etc. In case of any dispute about the rights of qānūngoī, the emperor decided the case after the perusal of the qānūngoī papers.[1]

Besides regular qānūngos in the parganas, there were other qānūngos as well. For example, there was a separate qānūngo to maintain the records of salt and saltpetre lands. In the 41st R.Y. of Aurangzeb (1697-98), "Prem Ranz" was appointed the qānūngo in the department of saltpetre and 'khāri' salt in the pargana of Binara.[2]

It seems that there was also a sadr qānūngo for the whole sarkār. Gopal Thakur was given the sadr qānūngoī of sarkār Tirhut by Akbar, and the same was subsequently enjoyed by his descendants throughout the Mughal rule.[3] The farmān of Aurangzeb clearly states that they could hold the qānūngoī of 102 parganas of sarkār Tirhut.[4] It is not clear whether the qānūngos in the parganas worked under the

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1. Q. Ahmad, 'Public Opiniong & C.' IHRC, XXXI, op.cit., pp. 142-47.

2. Cf. Shyam Bihari Singh, 'Saltpetre Industry of Zillah Tirhat During the First Quarter of the 19th century', JBRS, V. 37, 1951, pt. III-IV, pp. 52-53.

3. Q. Ahmad, "Origin and Growth of the Darbhanga Raj", IHRC, XXXVI, pt. II, pp. 94-98.

4. Ibid.

sadr qānūngo of the sarkār, or they were independent of him. The latter, however, charged his share from the collection of the whole sarkār.

That there used to be a sadr qānūngo for the whole sūba of Bihar is testified to by two farmāns of Aurangzeb and Shah Alam II respectively.[1] The existence of this post has not been reported from other sūbas of the Mughal Empire. The sadr qānūngo was also appointed by the Emperor and the post ran in the same family. Aurangzeb in his 17th regnal year appointed three persons to the post of the sadr qānūngo of Bihar. Their ancestors had also served in the same capacity for a long time and were descendants of one Kerodhur. The continuity of the same family as sadr qānūngo of Bihar comes down to the 25th R.Y. of Shah Alam II (A.D. 1784)[2]. The sadr qānūngo was supposed to keep a watchful eye on his representives in the sarkārs and parganas.[3] On the back of the farmān the names of all the eight sarkārs and the number of ~~the~~

1. H.R. Ghoshal, 'Two Mughal Farmans' PIHC, 1958, op.cit., pp. 432-34. For the functioning of this post in the 18th & 19th century. Bihar, see Hand, Early Administration of Bihar, op. cit., pp. 52-53, and James, Revenue Chiefs of Bihar, op. cit., pp. 4-6.

2. Ghoshal, 'Two Mughal Farmans', op.cit., pp.432-34.

3. Ibid.

the parganas (251) are mentioned.[1] It is not clear from the farmān whether this sadr qānūngo had to supervise the functions of the regular and ubiquitous qānūngos in the pargana. However, it refers to his (sadr qānūngo's) agents in the sarkārs and mahāls, whose functions he was to supervise. The sadr qānūngo was asked to send the geneological lists of the families and the accounts of fluctuations in population.[2] It is quite likely that this officer had some separate duties other than the supervision of the qānūngos in the parganas.

The emoluments of the qānūngo, in the beginning of Akbar's reign was one percent of the revenue collected.[3] Akbar later replaced it by fixed salaries in the form of cash or land.[4] Among the perquisites from which the grantees were exempted, the madad-i ma'āsh documents invariably mention sad-doi qānūngoī (two percent) which was equally divided between the qānūngo and patwāri.[5]

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Āīn, .p.300.
4. Ibid., The three categories fixed by Akbar were Rs.50, Rs. 30 and Rs. 20 per month. Also see Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p.291 n.
5. Ibid., p. 131 n. Also see the chapter on Land Grants (infra).

The documents concerning nānkār and other allowances available from Bihar do not show any uniformity. Sometimes, the allowance is given in cash, and at others a whole villages is given (occasionally the jama of the village is also given).[1] The 18th century surveys in Bihar show the income of the qānūngo in cash as well as in kind i.e. the land held by him.[2] Sometimes the nānkār allowance made to the qānūngo included his scribe's share; the latter was also given separate nānkār.[3] The qānūngos were also given inām (gift) lands. However the perquisites of the qānūngos of the sarkār and the sūba were different. The sadr qānūngo of sarkār Tirhut was entitled to take a share of 1/4th tanka per bīgha ~~per bigha~~ as his allowance.[4] The farmān of Aurangzeb appointing a sadr qānūngo for the whole sūba of Bihar fixes 8 ānas in hundred rupees (1/2%) as his share, exclusive of the dastūrs and nānkār as admitted since ancient practice.[5] An 18th century

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1. Eknath and Jugut Roy were given a village paying Rs. 244, anas 10 in 1083 Fasli
Cf. K. P. Mitra, 'The Office of Qanungo in Bihar, IHRC, XXI, 1944, pp.17-19. Also see Datta, Firmans, pp. 25-26, 75-76, 80-81, 86-87 & 121-22).

2. Bhagalpur Records, vol. 17, pp. 272-92.

3. Cf. Datta, Firmāns, pp. 25-26, 29.

4. Q. Ahmad, 'Darbhanga Raj', IHRC, op.cit., pp. 89-90.

5. Ghoshal, op. cit., p.432.

glossary appended to the survey reports of John Shore and Grant gives a charge called "Neem Tucky" or "Neem Tanka" which is described as a perquisite of half a rupee in the hundred on jama' as a additional allowance to the qānūngos. Probably this charge was the allowance of the sadr qānūngos of the sūba.[1] These allowance were entirely different and altogether a separate cetegory from those for the qānūngos working in the parganas.

The office of the qānūngo was hereditary, for which we have a number of documents from Bihar which show the successors inheriting the office or disputing each other's claims. The general procedure for succession was that the hiers of the deceased qānūngo would apply to the imperial court for orders to confirm them. All the heirs got a share in the office. The Qānūngoī and Chaudhuraī of sarkār Tirhut, held by Mahesh Thakur in the time of Akbar, was shared by three of his descendants in 1652.[2] The early British surveyors of a number of the parganas in sarkār Munger found long geneologies of the qānūngos holding the post for as long as two hundred years or more.[3] These survey reports show a number of successors sharing the office. In the absence of sons,

1. British Parliamentary Papers, III, Glossary, p.33.
2. Q. Ahmad, 'Darbhanga Raj', pp.92-93.
3. Bhagalpur Records, vol. 17, pp. 272-92.

brothers, and nephews were also considered as legal successors.[1] By long successions, the number of the qānūngos in a pargana must have increased thus hampering the working of the system. Aurangzeb, therefore, ordered that not more than two qānūngos could serve in a pargana and all others were to be dismissed. But, after the death of Aurangzeb, more than 2 qānūngos are reported to have been working in a single pargana.[2] Aurangzeb's orders restricting the number to two only, must have created problems in the selection of the two qānūngos: this must have made the fate of other share-holders uncertain. The records and statements of the qānūngos in the 18th century throw some light on this aspect. Guverdas alias Karimullah, who was the qānūngo of Colgong in the reign of Aurangzeb, was harassed by his relatives who "contrary to the practice of the times demanded that they should in lieu of receiving their share of the rusoom canangoe from him be made independent canongoe of proportionate parts of the pergannah".[3] The constant harassment by the relatives compelled the said

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1. Ibid.

2. There were five qānūngos in Sahasram for which see Q. Ahmad in "Appointments etc.", IHRC, 31, pp. 142-47; and three each in the parganas of Salimabad and Surajgarh (see Bhagalpur Records, Vol. 17, pp. 272-92).

3. Bhagalpur Records, Vol. 17, pp. 272-92.

qānūngo to visit the imperial court. On condition of his conversion to Islam, he was granted the whole qānūngoī rights not only in Colgong (Kahalgaon) but in four other parganas, too.[1] This case makes it clear that the selection wholly dependend on the imperial authority. Secondly, the two selected qānūngos actually held control over the affairs pertaining to them, and the rest were to get their share in cash only.

It also appears that sometimes a single qānūngo could have rights in two different parganas.[2]

The foregoing account indicates that due to the hereditary nature of the office and the fact that the qānūngos kept all the land-revenue records, they possessed wide powers. They were in a position to manipulate records: we find that with the decline of the Mughal authority they acquired large zamīndāris[3]. Mir Qasim (1760-63) curbed the powers of the

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1. Ibid. But he never exercised his rights in other parganas. For the practice of supplanting Hindu qānūngos with Muslims in Aurangzeb's reign, see Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p.289.

2. "Parasnat ghore" qānūngo and his ancestors held the qānūngoī of the pargana of Bhagalpur and a share in the pargana of 'Colgong' since the time of Akbar (Bhagalpur Records, Vol. 17, pp. 172-92).

3. Fifth Report, Vol. I, p. LII.

qānūngos[1] and ultimately the early British government abolished the office; but it was revived after sometime as they were considered indispensable for the working of the revenue administration.[2]

Chaudhurī

The qānūngo's work was confined to preparing and maintaining land-revenue records, while the chaudhurī was chiefly concerned with the collection of the land revenue. The latter office was invariably held by some influential zamīndār.[3] The post was usually hereditary, but an imperial order was required to recognise succession. Initially, there was to be one chaudhurī in each pargana, but due to the practice of inheritance, a pargana could have a number of chaudhurīes.[4] For Bihar, we get evidence for the appointment of one chaudhurī for the whole sarkār as was the case with Gopal Thakur who was given the chaudhurāī of the sarkar of Tirhut by Akbar.[5] They were termed as sadr chaudhrīs. His descendants,

1. N. Chatterjee, 'The Revenue Administration of Mir Qasim in Bengal and Bihar', JBORS, XXI, 1935, pp. 61-62.

2. Sinha, Bihar Tenantry, pp. 74, 119.

3. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p. 291. For such chaudhuris in Bihar, see M.L. Roy Chaudhuri, 'The Farmar of Jehangir', IHRC, XVIII, pt. II, 1941, pp. 188-96; Q. Ahmad, 'Darbhanga Raj', pp. 89-94.

4. Hiranand was appointed by Jehangir as chaudhurī ~~to a few~~ to a few tappas of pargana Kahalgaon (Munger). There must have been some other chaudhurīs who looked after other tappas of the pargana (see M.L. Roy Choudhuri, IHRC, XVIII, pp. 188-96).

5. Q. Ahmad, 'Darbhanga Raj', pp. 92-93.

during Aurangzeb's reign, were given chaudhurāī of a few parganas of sarkar Munger also along with the zamīndārī of these parganas.[1] It seems that the position of different chaudhurīs in the parganas was not affected by this appointment and the said Sadr chaudhurī was to oversee the work of all the chaudhurīs of the sarkār.

The chaudhuri's task was to collect revenue, and to make efforts to increase cultivation. He put his signature on the qabuliyat submitted by peasants. His duties included the disbursement and realization of the taqāvi loans, the sending of an annual comparative statement of the office (Mu'ajnā-i Shārista) and a report of his work under the seal and signature of the qānūngo through the dīwān of the sūba.[2] The detailed duties laid down in the farmān of Aurangzeb to the Sadr chaudhurī are also more or less the same. Their duty was collecting the revenue, depositing and withdrawing of money from the treasury, appointing ámīns in each pargana, getting the land measured and extending the taqāvi loans to the needy.[3]

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1. Ibid., pp. 93-96.

2. M.L. Roy Chaudhary, IHRC, XVIII, pp. 188-96. Q. Ahmad 'Darbhanga Raj', p. 95. Also see Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, pp. 291-93.

3. Q. Ahmad, 'Darbhanga Raj', pp. 98-99.

The purpose of the office of the chaudhurī was to keep a check on the qānūngo.[1] But in the case of Gopal Thakur's family, the two offices were combined, thus giving wide powers over a large number of parganas along with the zamīndārī of a few parganas also. The result was obvious. Here was a family which had cornered the zamīndārī, qānūngo'ī and chaudhurāī rights in more than one hundred parganas for more than a century: no wonder, then, this family became one of the most powerful chieftains in Bihar with the decay of the Mughal state.[2]

The deductions of 5% were shared equally by the chaudhurī and muqaddam. In a number of the madad-i ma'āsh documents from Bihar throughout the Mughal period, the list of cesses remitted to the grantee included dehnīmī, that is, half out of ten and was jointly shared by the chaudhurī and muqaddam, each claiming 2½%. The chaudhurī of sarkār Tirhut was allowed, by a farmān of Akbar, to take one tanka per bīgha as chaudhurāī.[3] The available appointment orders of the chaudhurīs in the subsequent period do not mention the share in the revenue receipts; instead, they are asked to enjoy admissible nānkār.

1. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p.293.

2. For the ascent of the family to the status of a Raja (autonomous chief), see Q. Ahmad, Darbhanga Raj, pp. 289-98. Also see the chapter on zamīndār and chieftains (supra).

3. Q. Ahmad, 'Dharbhanga Raj', p.90.

A large number of documents are available in the records of the family of the Rāja's of Darbhanga pertaining to nānkār grants.[1] A number of nānkār grants given to ~~diffe-~~ Other chaudhurīs are also available.[2] One chaudhurī Girdhar of pargana Arrah was given as many as 8 villages in nānkār.[3] The chaudhurī of Munger were allowed 4½% as chaudhurāī for cultivable waste land.[4] It seems that this high share was an incentive to bring more land under the plough.

Amin

The amīn was an officer chiefly concerned with the assessment.[5] ~~only~~ Under Akbar, he was a member of the 'amīl's

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1. Photocopies of some documents have been put together in a volume, and many more loose copies are also available in the record room of the Darbhanga Archives. All of these are uncatalogued.

2. These grants are in cash as well as in land. One Jhatoo chaudhuri was given many grants in the parganas of Bal and Dangsi of sarkār Sāran. The nānkār in different parganas show that he had chaudhurī rights in two parganas. The large number of grants testify to his being an important chaudhurī (Basta no. 29, Bihar State Archives) For other grants to chaudhuri's, see Datta, Firmāns pp. 35-40, 42-43, 45-46.

3. Ibid, pp. 45-46.

4. M.L. Roy Chaudhary, 'Jahangir's Farmān', IHRC, XVIII, pp. 188-96.

5. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, pp. 276-77.

staff. But under Shahjahan one amīn was appointed for every mahāl, while the 'āmil had no role in assessment; the latter was now concerned with revenue collection only. Under Akbar, the revenue party under the amīn was to be paid 24 dāms per day.[1] Sometimes they were also given nānkār lands in lieu of service.[2]

There were two more officials in every pargana entrusted with revenue work. The fotādār / khizānādār and the bitikchi. The former was the treasurer while the latter was the accountant. These official assisted the revenue officials in maintaining the accounts and keeping the cash realized from the cultivators.

Muqaddam

The village, the smallest unit of administration, had its own functionaries for revenue assessment and collection. The most important one was the muqqaddam or village headmen. The term was in use since long.[3] These muqaddams

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1. Akbarnāma, III, p. 383. In the early 19th century, the charges of the amīn's party were 10 āñas per day (see Bachanan, Bihar & Patna, II, pp. 566-67).

2. K.K. Datta, Firmāns, pp. 35-36.

3. Barani, Tārīkh-i Firuzshāhi, Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1862, pp. 288, 291, 430.

were called by a number of names in Bihar. The most popular being Jethraiyat, mahto and mandal.[1] Jeth raiyat is also frequently used to denote headmen in the British survey reports.[2] Buchanan in his survey of Shahabad (1812-13) uses the word jeth raiyat but points out that the descendants of the hereditary chiefs of villages were called "mukaddams".[3] In the village establishment of district Saran jeth raiyat and muqaddam are mentioned as two separate posts.[4] It appears that the former was applied to peasants of large holdings. In southern Bihar, in the chieftancies of Pachet, Ramghar and Palamau, mahato or mandal was the common name for the headmen.[5] In Patna and Gaya also the headmen was termed as

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1. Muhammad Yasin, Glossary, ff. 81a-81b; British Parliamentary Papers, III, Glossary, p.29.

2. Buchanan, Shahabad, pp. 339, 359, 365; Hunter, Vol.XI, p. 265; Grierson, pp. 325-26.

3. Buchanan, Shahabad, pp. 339, 359, 365.

4. Hunter, Vol. XI, p.265.

5. Sinha, Bihar Tenantary, Appendix (pp. 163-65).

jeth raiyat or mahato.[1] The village headman in Santhal parganas was called mānjhi.[2]

The post of muqaddam was hereditary with saleable rights.[3] Their origin in Bihar has been ascribed to the fact that they were instrumental in settling villages.[4]

The muqaddam commanded considerable influence in his area. In 1633, the qānūngo of the pargana Ratti in sarkār

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1. Buchanan, Bihar and Patna, I, pp. 40, 95, 104, 114-15 & II, p.568. Mahato and mandal have become common surnames in south Bihar.

2. Hunter, XIV, p.329; Sinha, Bihar Tenantry, p.174.

3. Sale-deeds in Bihar State Archives, Patna, nos. 329, 623. The Collector of Bhagalpur was asked by the Board of Revenue to probe the rights of the muqaddams. A large number of the muqaddams produced their documents and sale-deeds to claim their rights for several generations. These deeds were properly certified by the zamīndārs and qānūngos of the time (Bhagalpur Records, Vol. 18, letter dated 22nd December 1799). These rights were also recognised by the provincial court (Ibid, Vol. 36, letter dated 10th Sept. 1817). For hereditary rights, see Buchanan, Bihar & Patna, II, p.568; Shahabad, p.365; Hunter, XI, p.265.

4. Hunter, XI, p.265.

Hajipur had to approach the authorities for help against the two muqaddams who had dispossessed him by force from the village of Fatehabad. A parwāna was issued to help the said gānūngo.[1]

The muqaddam at times was appointed by a royal order.[2] The investigation into the rights of the muqaddams by the Collector of Bhagalpur in 1799 showed that the muqaddam's rights were independent of the Zamīndārs and that he could dispose the rights as he pleased.[3] The zamīndārs also testified to the fact ~~that he had a right in the produce~~ that he had a right in the produce of the soil.[4] The Collector pointed out that the settlement made by Grant was defective as he ignored the rights of the muqaddams and made the settlement with the zamīndārs only, thus ruining the former.[5] Buchanan also noticed that the "land holders" had usurped the allowances of the muqaddams.[6]

The muqaddam was responsible for the revenue collection of the whole village. The peasant was given a patta by him and

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1. Datta, Firmāns, pp. 121-22.
2. Mahinath Thakur of Tirhut was given the zamīndāri, qānūngoī, chaudhurāī and muqaddami rights in pargana Dharampur of sarkar Munger (Q. Ahmad, 'Darbhanga Raj' pp. 94-98).
3. Bhagalpur Records, Vol. 18, letter dated 22nd Dec. 1799.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Buchanan, Shahabad, p. 359.

he received a qabuliyat from them~~same~~. For his services he was either assigned revenue-free land amounting to 2½% of the land or an equal amount of the revenue collected in cash.[1] Probably, he also had a right to the produce of the trees of the villages.[2] The muqaddam also claimed a share in the customary exactions called "neakdari" (neg) from each peasant called "mockudmy" which according to the surveyors (18th century) used to be charged since the long past.[3] This seems to have been in addition to the regular 2½% share of the muqaddam in the land revenue. The muqaddams were generally in a habit of charging more than their share in the land-revenue and they also kept a part of the taqāvi loan meant to be given to peasants.[4]

1. The dehnīmī of the madad-i maāsh documents was a share of 5% to be equally divided between the chaudhuri and muqaddam.

2. The specimen sale-deed reproduced by the Collector of Bhagalpur and the testimony of the zamīndārs recorded by him show that he had a right to the produce and trees of the area. (Bhagalpur Records, Vol. 18, letter dated 22nd Dec. 1799). Buchanan also found that he had a right to sell the mango trees of the village, Shahabad, p.366.

3. British Parliamentary Papers, III, pp. 240-42. This share of the muqaddams was 20 'gandas' per rupee when the revenue was collected in cash and 1 ser in a maund when the revenue was collected in kind. At another place the rate given is 8 'gandas' in a rupee and 1 ser in a maund. (see Bhagalpur Records, Vol. 36, letter dated 10th Sept. 1817).

4. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, pp. 131-32.

The sale-price of the muqaddami rights in the reign of Akbar seems to be quite low.[1]

Patwāri:

Another important official in the village was the patwāri. The office had been known from the end of the 13th century.[2] The term probably originated from the acceptance of patta (a document of revenue demand on a village or a peasant).[3] His duty was to keep an account of the expenditure and income of the village.[4] Abul Fazl says that he was an employee of the villagers.[5] In the 18th century Bihar, the patwāri in the north was a zamīndār's servant, while in southern Bihar he was independent of both the ra'īyat and the zamīndār.[6] The patwāri was paid by the ra'īyat under the village expenses.[7] Again, during the same period, the charge in Bihar

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1. 400 bīghas of land with muqaddamī rights in pargana Bisara of sarkār Hajipur in 1578 was sold for a small amount of Rs. 55. (Basta no. 623 Muzaffarpur Bihar State Archives, Patna). Also see Datta, Firmāns, p.107.
2. Barani, Tārīkh-i Firuz shāhi, pp. 288-89.
3. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p.134.
4. Ā'īn, p.300.
5. Ibid.
6. Hand, Early administration, op. cit., pp. 52-53.
7. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, pp. 126-27.

was levied on the raʾīyat and called "Patwarees Neg" which was considered to be customary.[1] He was allowed an allowance of 1% on the revenue receipts under Akbar.[2]

The village watchmen or "gorait" working under the patwārī was also allowed a separate share.[3] The patwārī's duty also included the maintenance of the village expenses which in the official papers is described as dehkharcha.[4] The manner of its collection and some of the items on which it was spent is contained in an official letter of the Collector of Bhagalpur.[5] The collector reported that the expenses on the religious ceremonies and payment to the

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1. British Parliamentary Papers, III, pp. 240-43. In South Bihar in the 18th century his fee was charged in the jamābandy papers under a separate column. In North Bihar, the share of the patwārī was separated before the division of crop and was equally shared among the peasant and the zamīndār (see Hand, Early Administration, pp. 52-53).

2. Sad-doi-i qānūngōī (2 per cent of the qānūngo) was equally shared by the qānūngo & patwārī (see Āʾīn, p.300). In the 18th century, the charges of the patwārī were 5 'gundas' in a rupee in cash and 8 ṣhhatāks in a maund when in kind, (1¼%), British Parliamentary Papers, III, pp. 240-42.

3. Ibid.

4. British Parliamentary Papers, III, pp. 240-42.

5. Bhagalpur Records, Vol. 12, letter dated 6th Sept. 1793.

revenue - functionaries from "time immemorial" was done with the consent of the raʻīyat. The patwārī was authorised to assess each according to the produce of the land he cultivated. The collected amount was deposited with the patwārī as treasurer. At the end of the year, the patwārī, submitted a statement of accounts to the peasants in the full assembly.[1]

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1. Ibid.

Revenue Statistics

Babur's account of the revenue resources of Bihar is probably the earliest of its kind. He gives a list of sarkārs with the revenue they yielded (A.D. 1528).[1]

Sarkār	Revenue (in tanka)[2]
Bihar	4,05,60,000
Saran	1,10,18,373
Champaran	1,90,86,060
Tirhut (Raja Roop Narain's tribute).	27,50,000
Total	7,34,14,433

It is quite clear that the above amount was not the total income of Bihar because only four sarkārs have been mentioned by Babur. But the above figure may indicate the revenue-paying capacity of the four sarkārs. However, in 1529, he says that of the Bihar revenue, one kror and 25 lākh tankas were reserved for the royal treasury[3]. Most probably Babur here is speaking of those areas in Bihar which were under his occupation. Again, he gives a more detailed arrangement of the revenue from Bihar as follows:[4]

1. Bāburnāma, to A.S. Beveridge, pp. 520-21.
2. During Akbar's reign 1 tanka = 2 dāms; and 40 dāms = 1 rupee (see Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p.381).
3. Bāburnāma, op. cit., p.662.
4. Ibid., p.676.

To Mahmud Khan Nuhani's soldiers	50,00,000	tanka
For Government uses (khālisa)	1,00,00,000	tanka
The rest was given to Jalal Khan who promised to pay	1,00,00,000	tanka

The information such as is here provided by Babur, through fragmentory, it nevertheless gives us an idea of the revenue from Bihar. It should be noted that the whole of Bihar at this time was not under Babur's control. More comprehensive estimate of revenue become available from the reign of Akbar onwards.

Our sources record detailed figures usually in terms of dāms, the figures being designated jamaʿ or jamadāmī, jamaʿ was probably held to approximate to normal net revenue collection.

Here we propose to discuss the total revenue of the sūba and its break-up for the individual sarkārs from the time of the compilation of the Āʾīn to 1750.

The Āʾīn-i Akbarī, because of the detailed nature of information it provides, forms the main source of our knowledge regarding the revenue of the sūba. In its chapter entitled 'Account of the Twelve sūbas' it gives the jama' (also styled naqdī) for the sarkārs and mahāls as well as for the

sūba as a whole.[1] Though no other statistics comparable in detail to the Āīn are available, other jama' tables from later period, preserved in contemporary accountancy manuals, historical works and foreign travellers' accounts have come down to us. The jama' totals for the sūba given in these sources have been set out in chronological order in Table "A" .[2] The Āīn puts the jama' figure at 22,19,19,404 dāms.[3] By 1627, the increase in jama' was 9 kror dāms; another increase of 9 kror dāms took place by 1650. The sources from 1636 to 1656 record the revenue figures of the sūba between 36 and 40 krors. The official chronicle estimate it around 40 krors.[4] The revenue figures contained in the dastūr al 'amal-i 'Alamgīrī pose some problem. The figures in this source

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1. Abu'l Fazl, Āīn-i Akbarī, for sūba of Bihar see, pp. 415-23.

2. At times it becomes difficult to assign a definite date to figures available in a particular source. In such cases attempt has been made to give an approximate date to such figures which however, must be considered as tentative.

3. There are variations in the detailed revenue statistics supplied by different texts. Figures for this study have been collated for accuracy with two early MSS. lodged in the British Museum (Add. 7652 & 6552) Microfilms of these manuscripts are available in the Department of History, A.M.U. Aligarh.

4. Cf. Abdul Hamīd Lāhori, Bādshāhnāma, Vol.II, p.711. The figures supplied by Lahori have been rounded up in krors not only for Bihar but almost all the sūbas of the Mughal empire. See Irfan Habib, op.cit. pp. 397-407.

have been assigned to c. 1656-1658[1], but it shows an abnormally high jama'. The exceptionally high jama' figures of the dastūr for the sūbas of Awadh, Agra, Delhi, Malwa, Allahabad, Gujarat and Multan are highest for the period 1595-1709.[2]

The earlier explanation put forward was that this high jama' was a result of inflation caused by the silver-influx during this period.[3] But the jama' figures for Ajmer, Bengal, Orissa, Thatta and Kashmir were not high. It is, therefore, difficult to visualise how Bihar in the east was hit by inflation but Bengal and Orissa were spared. Similarly it is highly improbable that Multan and Lahore were under the spell of inflation but the adjacent sūbas of Thatta and Kashmir were not. Again, that silver-influx inflated the jama' of Gujarat, Malwa and Delhi but Ajmer remained unaffected

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1. Irfan Habib assigned its figures to c. 1656 (Agrarian system, p.397) I also took it for c. 1656 in my article 'Jama' statistics of the sūba of Bihar', (proceedings of Indian History congress, Waltair, 1979, pp. 399-407); Shireen Moosvi assigns c. 1658 to its 'jama' figures 'The Mughal Empire and the Deccan-Economic Factors and Consequences' presented at the Indian History Congress Kurushetra, 1982.

2. Dastūr-al 'amal-i Álamgīrí, British Museum Add. 6599, ff. 109a-120b (rotograph Department of History, A.M.U. Aligarh). Compare figures for the subsequent period with those in Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, pp. 397-407.

3. Ahmed Raza Khan, 'Jama' statistics of the sūba of Bihar' op. cit., pp. 399-407.

by this phenomenon. The contention that the figures of the Dastūr may have been taken from the earlier period, too, is not tenable because a survey of the sūbas having high jamā does not substantiate it. The explanation that the jamā figures of the Dastūr are exceptionally high on account of the silver-influx again appears unconvincing when we notice that this unusual increase in revenue is not reflected in any of the other sources of around ~~of~~ the same ~~jama~~ period.[1]

A careful study of the revenue figures shows that actually the jamā given in this Dastūr do not belong to 1656 but to a much later date, that is c. 1750. The arguments for suggesting so have been summarised in Appendix-C.

In Aurangzeb's reign, there is a little increase in the revenue over Shāh Jahān's period. The statistical figures of the Chahār Gulshan are said to pertain to the last year's of Aurangzeb's reign,[2] but Jadunath Sarkar, the translator of the work, assigned ~~in~~ to it the upper limit of 1720 A.D.[3] For Bihar and many other sūbas, the jamā figures in the Chahār Gulshan do not correspond to Aurangzeb's reign or the period

1. For the revenue figures in all the subas for 1636-1656 see Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, pp. 397-407.

2. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p.412.

3. See J.N. Sarkar, India of Aurangzeb, Calcutta, 1901.

immediately after him.[1] There seems to be two possibilities. First, that their figures belong to Shahjahan's reign[2], or that the figures of the Chahār Gulshan for Bihar are incomplete. The four available manuscript consulted for the purpose of this study show that details for thirty-two parganas are not available (7 in sarkār Bihar, 19 in Tirhut and 6 in Munger).

The other available figures for Aurangzeb's reign provided in Grant's report and marked for 1685, are believed to have been of Shahjahan's dastūr but adopted by Aurangzeb.[3] These figures are lower than the jama' of Shahjahan's reign (see Table A). Another set of figures listed in Table-A for the years 1687-1709 is 40,71,81,000 in all the four sources. For all the sūbas of the Mughal Empire, the jama' figures for this period are identical.[4] It seems that these figures have been copied from the same source, probably belonging to an earlier period, because the two earlier jama' figures for 1675 and 1678 show much higher revenue, it being 45,71,81,000 dams[5] and 46,48,55,000 dams respectively.[6]

1. See Ahmed Raza Khan, 'Jama' statistics of Bihar', pp.399-400.
2. Ibid.
3. British Parliamentary Papers, III, p.421.
4. For other sūbas, see Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, pp.397-407.
5. Dastūr-al 'amal-i Salātin, No.173. Khuda Baksh Oriental Public Library, Patna (KB), ff. 121b-122a. Figure of 45 kror here could be a copyist's error for 41 kror because the rest of the figures is the same as in the above four sources.
6. Karanji Mehta Collection, Jalore, I am thankful to my friend Dr. B.L. Bhadani for providing this figures.

Another detailed pargana-wise figures preserved in a collection of eighteenth century papers, thought of belonging to Aurangzeb's last years, actually relate to a still later period.[1] This manuscript gives the jama' figures of eight provinces and also specifies the corresponding date/period. For example, it clearly states that the figures of Gujarat are from Aurangzeb's reign. The same is the case with Delhi. For Bihar, it says that the figures are from the office of Khālisa and other official papers, but does not give any date or period for the same. However, the figures given for Bihar closely conform to those of Farrukhsiyar's reign given in one dastūr-al 'amal.[2] (Table-A) Another set of figures given in miscellaneous papers for the year 1140 Faslī (A.D. 1736) are quite close to the two above figures (nos. 21, 22, & 23 in our Table-A).

Thus, the above three jama' figures belong to the period 1710-1736. The last and the highest jama' figure in the table A come from the Dastūr-al 'Amal-i 'Ālamgīrī, which as shown earlier, pertains to c. 1750. The total jama' of the sūba was 22,19,19,404 dams in c.1595 and 54,53,00,335 dams in c.1750.

1. Kāghzāt-i Mutaffariqa, Add. 6586 f. 101 (rotograph Department of History, A.M.U., Aligarh).

2. Dastūr-al 'Amal, no. 173 K.B. Library, Patna, ff. 124a-126a.

There may be several factors for the rise in revenue over this period, such as extension of the Mughal authority in the area since the time of Akbar, increase in the magnitude of state's demand, extension in cropped area, changes in the crop pattern and rise in prices, etc.

The extension of Mughal authority in Bihar after Akbar was considerable, especially in the hilly and forest region of South Bihar, and Munger. Regular expeditions were sent to Khokra in Jahangir's reign which was finally annexed.[1] Kharagpur was also brought under the Mughal sway by Jahangir.[2] Palamau was annexed in the 17th year (1644) of Shahjahan, and its revenue was assessed at one kror dāms.[3]

As far as the extension in the total cropped land is concerned, it is difficult to find out the areas actually tilled in the 16th and 17th centuries in Bihar. The measured area-figures, though given in the Āīn, are not exhaustive for the sūba because Bihar was not brought fully under the zabt system. Even during the last years of Aurangzeb's reign, out of a total of 55,376 villages, only 31,340 were measured.[4]

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1. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, pp. 154-55.

2. Ibid., pp. 39-40; Mu'tamad Khan, Iqbālnāma-i Jahāngīrī Calcutta, 1865, p.21.

3. Cf. Lahori, Bādshāhnāma, II, op.cit., pp.248-50, 360-61.

4. Frazer, 86, rotograph Department of History, A.M.U., Aligarh, f. 59 b.

But this measured land can not be treated as total cropped area as it included cultivable waste and fallow land as well. Thus, it is difficult to calculate the total land under the plough during the Mughal period. There must have been some increase in the cropped area but, in the absence of relevant date, it is not possible to work out the actual extent of the increase.

As far as the increase in the state's share is concerned, there is no information with regard to any variation in the revenue demand in real terms in sūba Bihar, and so this factor for increase cannot be either asserted or denied. However, the revenue figures of Farrukhsiyar's reign, which show a sharp rise, may well have been due to the increase in the state demand by adoption of ijāra system (revenue farming)[1]. A glance at the revenue lists of the Ā'īn and of the early 18th century[2] further strengthens the argument (see Appendix -B). The lists show that around 50% of the parganas in Farrukhsiyar's reign had jama stated in round figures (rounded upto 000 or more) while such rounding off of figures in the Ā'īn is just 12-13%, and that too mostly in the Chief's principalities (Appendix-B) several evidences from Farrukh-siyar's reign and later period are available, which show

1. See supra.

2. Add. 6586, ff. 90a-101a.

depopulation of villages due to exhorbitant revenue demand, and administrative orders had to be passed to treat those villages as permanently settled.[1]

The change in crop-pattern also seems to have had some effect on the total revenue of the sūba. In Bihar, especially in the second half of the seventeenth century, on account of the brisk commercial activities of the European companies, some extension in the cultivation of opium and cotton may be presumed. As a result, the cultivation of cash crops should have increased,adding to the jamā' of the sūba.

Brisk Commercial activities might have affected the increase of the total revenue, because the jamā', along with land-revenue, included certain other cesses also.

Perhaps the most potent factor for the high increase in the jamā' of the sūba was the rise in prices. Though detailed price lists are not available for the sūba, the scattered information of the prices of different commodities suggest that there was a substantial price rise in the first half of the 17th century. Accordingly, the highest rise is in the first half of the 17th century (from 22,32,10,053

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1. K.K. Datta, Some Firmāns, Sanads and Parwānas, 1578-1802 pp. 94, 105, 120, 122, 126.

dāms in 1595 to 40,00,00,000 dāms in 1646-47. see Table-A). In the second half of the seventeenth century, the rise in the jamaʿ is rather slow (Table-A), but takes a sudden jump in the 18th century. The second half of the 17th century, though a period of brisk commercial activities, does not show great inflation. The researches in the commercial activities of the neighbouring sūba of Bengal (where economy was bound to influence Bihar) also show similar trend.[1]

All said and done, we may now ask what was the contribution of the sūba of Bihar in the total jamaʿ of the empire ? The following table will give us some indication.

We now come to the sarkār-level jamaʿ-figures provided in some of the sources of our period.[2] These figures are of immense value as they help us in studying the distribution and incidence of the jamaʿ in the various sarkārs of the sūba.

We will start with the geographical distribution of the jamaʿ at the time of the compilation of the Āʾīn. The jamaʿ as given in the Āʾīn, has been divided by map-area to obtain the incidence (per square mile) of the jamaʿ in different

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1. For the stationary price level in the second half of the 17th century in Bengal, see Susil Chaudhuri, Trade and Commercial Organization of Bengal, Calcutta 1975, pp. 241-48; Om Prakash, "Bullion for Goods: International Trade and Economy of early 18th century Bengal". Indian Economic and Social History Review, Vol.XIII, No.2. 1976, pp. 164-66.

2. Of these the Āʾīn and Add. 6586. op.cit provide pargana-level figures as well.

sarkārs of the sūba (see Table-B). The jama' of the sarkār of Bihar for the purpose of analysis in this table has been divided into (a) measured and (b) unmeasured mahāls. The former includes the parganas situated in the northern part of the sarkār for which the ārāzī has been given in the Ā'īn. The southern region had very few mahāls and most of it was apparently covered with forests.

The Table-B shows that the revenue incidence was highest in the sarkār of Bihar (measured). The area had a number of rivers and rivulets providing good irrigation facilities. Particularly the Patna region, even in the sixteenth century, was noted for the production of sugar, cotton and opium, which were exported in bulk.[1] Besides, Patna was an important commercial centre and a mint town. Hajipur follows Bihar (measured) with 11027.8 dāms per square mile. Bounded as it was by the Ganges on the south, the Gandak on the west and the Burhi Gandak on the east, with a number of channels providing a natural means of irrigation, this must have been a fairly extensively cultivated tract. Rohtas comes next. The region was especially taken note of by the chronicler since it was a very fertile region, with

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1. See Ahmed Raza Khan 'A Brief Survey of Trade and Commerce in Bihar During the Seventeenth Century' PIHC, Hyderabad, 1978, pp.473-480.

high water-table making irrigation easier.[1]

On the contrary, south Bihar (unmeasured), and Champaran yielded the lowest per square mile revenue. South Bihar was poorly irrigated and had scattered settlements, while Champaran, on the other hand, contained large tract of forest.

The case of the sarkār of Tirhut is peculiar. Though supplied with irrigational facilities, it shows a comparatively lower jamaʿ concentration. Either the area had large forests, or the jamaʿ was low because of the zamīndārs' principalities. Since Tirhut does not come up with a higher rate of increase subsequently, when compared with the other sarkārs, one can not very confidently say whether the forests were cleared, or the zamīndārs' power was reduced in the 17th century.

We shall now examine the sarkār-level jamaʿ-figures to determine how far the increase in the jamaʿ for the sūba, over our period was distributed in the various sarkārs and which of the factors discussed above contributed to the enhancement of the jamaʿ in ~~each~~ individual sarkār.

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1. Abul Fazl, Akbarnāma, Vol. II, p. 243; Abdul Qadir Badāyūnī, Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, Vol. II, p.78; Āīn I, p.417.

In the following table -C, the sarkār-wise jama' figures preserved in four sources have been arranged, with the figures of the Ā'īn as base (= 100). The dates of these sources has already been discussed. (The detailed jama figures for the sarkārs and parganas have been put at the end as Appendix A & B respectively)

Table C

Sarkars	Ā'īn (c.1595-96)	Chahār Gulshan (1656-87)	Add. 6586 (1712-36)	Add. 6586 (1735-36)	Dastūr-al-'Āmal-i 'Alamgīrī (c. 1750)
Bihar	100	194.57	280.73	264.97	279.67
Munger	100	128.08	198.41	196.55	210.58
Champaran	100	174.56	210.08	206.33	209.72
Hajipur	100	165.84	187.89	190.36	187.56
Saran	100	218.45	258.56	264.52	258.91
Tirhut	100	153.64	213.38	213.40	239.06
Rohtas*) Shahabad)	100	138.68	210.44	209.08	205.62

* Rohtas was divided into two, Rohtas and Shahabad, after the compilation of the Ā'īn. The jama' of the two, given in the later sources, have been combined here.

The jama' figures of most of the sarkārs indicate a more or less uniform trend of increase with the exception of the sarkārs of Bihar and Hajipur. In the case of the former, the increase is exceptionally high while in the latter it is relatively low. The increase in jama' in the sarkār of Bihar was possibly the result of proliferation of imperial control, and extension of cultivation by the clearing of forests in the south of the sarkār. Additional revenue to the tune of 2 krore of dāms was added to the sarkār by the annexation of two parganas of Palamau and Khokhra after Akbar (see Appendix B). Besides, the pargana of Arwal registers a sixteen fold increase of jama'.[1] Moreover, the parganas of Telhara, Bihar and Sandah in the later source show an exceptionally large increase over the Ā'īn's figures (Appendix B). Two new parganas (not recorded in the Ā'īn) Samoar and Mandvi Sultanpur or Sultanganj also have a high jama' of around one kror dāms each. Mandvi Sultanganj, having five mahāls, and the fact that each mahāl has some mandvi attached to it, makes it amply clear that this revenue was from the income of the mandī (grain market)[2] and not from land-revenue. Altogether, 12 new parganas, not recorded in the Ā'īn, were added to the sarkār list by 1736 (Appendix B) Another reason for the increase was that in 17th century, Patna, the main

1. This appears to have been due to some error in the Ā'īn's revenue figures because in the Ā'īn the revenue per bīgha for Arwal is 7.47 dāms as against 78.63 of the whole sarkār.

2. Add. 6586 op.cit., ff. 100a, 147b. The five mandīs are Mandvi Sultanpur, Mandvi Nedav ? , Mandvi Rampur?, Mandvi Dehri and Mandvi Alamganj.

town of the sarkār, had become one of the chief commercial centres of Eastern India, it carried on extensive trade in textiles, sugar and opium and thereby augmented the jama' of the sarkār.

As for Hajipur, the increase is small because the jama' return of the sarkār in the Ā'īn were already quite high compared to its area (see Table B) and there was perhaps little scope for extension of cultivation as there was very little forest around to be cleared for tillage. Even this small increase of revenue is fairly distributed over all the parganas of the sarkār (Appendix B).

The sarkār of Sāran comes next to the sarkār of Bihar as far as increase in revenue is concerned, large number of saltpetre - producing areas were located in Saran which were fully exploited in the second half of the 17th and early 18th centuries. Most of the pargana in Saran, showing a large increase, are incidentally the one showing large saltpetre production (See Appendix B)[1]. The parganas of Kalyanpur and Sipah in Saran also record a high jama' over the Ā'īn's figures. This hike may be ascribed to the fact that these

1. For the areas producing large quantities of Saltpetre in Saran see Susil Chaudhuri, op.cit., pp.269-71; and for their location on the map Irfan Habib, An Atlas of the Mughal Empire, Sheet 10 B.

were under autonomous chiefs during Akbar. Being newly acquired, they were assessed at a lower rate, (it being 44 dāms per bīgha as against 70 dāms per bīgha for the whole sarkār).

In the sarkār of Tirhut and Munger, the number of mahāls had increased (in Munger from 31 to 40 and in Tirhut 73 to 100). This increase could have been partly due to the clearing of forest and diminution of the chief's territories during the course of one century.

In the sarkārs of Rohtas and Champaran the number of parganas remained the same, but the regions abounded in thick forest and the extension of cultivation in these areas may have resulted in the increase of jama', the reduction of the chief's power in these regions could have been another factor for the increase of jama'.

All said and done, we may now ask, what was the contribution of the sūba of Bihar in the total jama' of the empire ? The following table D will give us some indications.

Table D

Year	Jamā'		A as % of B.
	Bihar - 'A' in dāms	Mughal Empire 'B' in dāms	
1. 1595-96[1]	22,19,19,404	5,16,25,12,491	4.29
2. 1646-47[2]	40,00,00,000	8,80,00,00,000	4.54
3. 1709[3]	40,71,81,000	9,86,41,91,841	4.15

In the above table, three figures, based on Persian chronicles alone, have been taken. As its last column shows, Bihar's contribution in the total jamā' of the empire was only a little more than 4 per cent, and its contribution remained almost consistent at this figure, throughout our period.

So far we have discussed the jama ' or the assessed revenue. It is obvious, though, that there must have existed a considerable margin of difference between the revenue assessed and the revenue realised. In our sources this latter category is expressed by the term hāsil. The hāsil statistics are of great importance as they reflect in more real term (than the jamā') the actual revenue-paying capacity of the

1. Āīn, 'Account of Twelve Sūbas'.

2. Lahori, Bādshāhnāma, II, pp. 709-12.

3. Jagjiwan Das, Muntakhabut-Tawārīkh ff. 51a-54a. The total of the Empire is given as 13,33,09,91,841 dāms but the jamā' of Bijapur and Golkunda have been deducted for convenience of comparision.

of the region. The hāsil figures in our sources is always expressed in terms of rupees while the jama' ~~which~~ is stated in dāms. Unlike the jama', we can not compare the hāsil-figures over our period as they appear in our sources mostly for the last years of Aurangzeb's reign.

All the available hāsil statistics for the sūba have been arranged in the following table E in chronological order (dates of these sources have already been discussed above).

The first hāsil-figures in the table are for 1685 and have been taken from the early British official records.[1] The total for the sūba given here Rs. 85,15,683; the sarkār-wise total however amounts to 85,17,683. Even this figure is not reliable, because the hāsil for the sarkār of Champaran comes to a very unrealistic 3.77% of the jama'. If we exclude the figures for Champaran, the revenue realization for the sūba works out to 88.49% of the jama'. Another set of figures belonging to almost ~~to~~ the same period (see table E) gives a hāsil of 90.12% of the jama' but it is said to be that of hāsil-i kāmil (the highest revenue realization over a period of time). The same source also gives an average realization figure (hāsil-i ausat) which comes to 56.3% of the jama'.[2]

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1. British Parliamentary Papers, Vol. III, p.421.
2. Kāghzāt-i Mutaffariqa, Add. 6586 op.cit. ff. 99(a)-101(a).

This figure is vary low compared to the hāsil-i kāmil. The only possible explanation that can be offered is that this ausat was calculated over a number of years including the years following 1670 when a devastating famine struck the region and damaged agriculture for many years to come. The figures for the year 1687-1709 records the same jamaʿ but an improved hāsil, of 91.41% for ordinary years and 91.61% for the best year (kāmil). The hāsil figures supplied by another source are equal to the total jamaʿ not only for the sūba but for all the sarkārs as well. As has already been stated, these figures belong to Farrukhsiyar's reign, when revenue farming was in vogue. Therefore, the 100% revenue realization could be a result of this ijāra system. Another possibility is that the jamaʿ-figures themselves, after conversion into rupees, have been put as hāsil-i kāmil. The last figures in our table come from two sources giving identical figures. They give hāsil-i kāmil as well as hāsil-i ausat[1]. The highest receipts (kāmil) is 75.93% and average receipts (ausat) 71.28% of the jamaʿ.

The figures in our table provides us a possible means of comparing the receipts of Aurangzeb's reign with those of mid-18th century when the central authority had been considerably weakened and there was an appreciable fall in the income of the state.

1. British Parliamentary Papers, gives only hāsil-i ausat for individual sarkārs and for the sūba. For the figures of c. 1750 see Vol. III, p.422.

Sarkār-wise hāsil figures for the sūba of Bihar available in three sources have been set out in Table-F. They give us some idea of the pattern of revenue realization in different sarkārs.

The figure B in Table F, as discussed above, are of little help as they show a 100% revenue realization. Probably the other two figures are more useful in finding the differences between the revenue realization in Aurangzeb's reign on the one hand, and that of mid-18th century on the other. The figures in 1685 for Champaran, as discussed above, are defective; therefore, we can exclude them for the purpose of comparision. We notice that there is a fall from 88.49% to 71.28% between 1685 and 1750. The Table shows a fall in realization in all the sarkārs of the sūba. The maximum decline is in the sarkārs of Rohtas and Munger where the existence of chieftaincies in the hilly region posed problem for the central authority and interferred with the effective realization of revenue. Moreover, the sarkār of Rohtas showed an unusual high hāsil of 125% in 1685.[1] The hasil figure of sarkār Tirhut shows that while actual realization almost equalled the assessed revenue, (i.e. jamā) in 1685, by 1750 realization had fallen short of the jamā by almost 20%. This

1. This high hāsil is difficult to explain. One possible explanation may be that a few parganas in this region at this time were held by certain Ujjainya chiefs whose area appears to have been under assessed.

might have been due to the increasing power of the Darbhanga Raj in this region at this time.[1]

Similarly, a fall of hāsil from 1685 to 1750 is noticeable in the sarkārs of Bihar, Shahbad and Hajipur. The lower realization in these areas in the later period was possibly due to the fact that after the death of Aurangzeb, the central authority was considerably weakened and in this atmosphere of political and administrative instability it might not have been possible to carry out the work of collection affectively.

The total revenue of the sūba discussed above as jama' included, besides land-revenue, certain other taxes, generally called wujūhāt. According to a general estimate by Shireen Moosvi, land-revenue accounted for 90 per cent of the jama' and the other 10 per cent being made of various commercial taxes,[2] Sair-jihāt. Since sources for our region do not offer any detailed statistical break-up of these miscellaneous taxes we are not in a position to estimate their proportion in total revenue of the sūba.

1. For the emergence of the Darbhanga Raj, see Qeyamuddin Ahmed, 'Origin and growth of Darbhanga Raj', Indian Historical Records Commission Proceedings, Vol.36, pt.II, 1961, pp. 89-98.

2. Shireen Moosvi, 'Production, consumption and population in Akbar's time, Indian Economic and Social History Review, Vol. X, No.2, 1972, pp.193-94.

Table - A

Jama' of the Sūba Bihar

No.	Date	Jama (dams)	Source
1.	1595 - 96	22,19,19,404[1]	Āīn, pp. 416-23
2.	1605	26,27,74,167	Iqbāl nāma, f. 231-32
3.	1605 - 27	31,60,33,672	Vigat, p. 90
4.	1642 - 43	38,09,30,000	Dastūr, 173, f. 120 a
5.	1646 - 47	40,00,00,000	Lāhorī, II, p. 711
6.	"	40,00,00,000	Sādiq Khān, f. 57
7.	1638 - 56	38,32,00,000	Bernier, p. 457
8.	"	38,32,00,000	Dastūral 'Amal, f. 144 a
9.	"	46,60,00,000	Mannucci, p. 414
10.	"	38,07,30,000	Haqīqat, f. 71 a
11.	1642 - 56	39,46,56,932	Dastūr - 2489, f. 2a
12.	1646 - 56	38,32,00,000	Dastūr-al 'Amal-i Navīsindigī, ff. 166 b-167 a
13.	1656 - 87	37,84,13,380	Chahār Gulshan
14.	C. 1676	45,71,81,000	Dastūr - 173, ff.121 a-122 a
15.	C. 1678	46,48,55,000	Karanji Mehta Collection Jalore
16.	1685	39,43,44,532	Br.I.F., III, p. 421
17.	1687 - C. 1691	40,71,81,000	Zawābit, ff. 130 b - 132 a
18.	1687 - C. 1695	40,71,81,000	Frazer -86, f. 59 b
19.	1687 - 1707	40,71,81,000	Dastūr - 23, f.5
20.	1709	40,71,81,000	Jagjīwan Dās f. 51 a - 54 a
21.	1712 - 19	52,76,69,337	Dastūr - 173, f.124 a-126 a
22.	1712 - 36	52,85,55,358	Add. 6586, f. 99 a
23.	1735 - 36	52,19,37,670	Add. 6586, f. 146 a
24.	1750	53,61,93,190	Br.I.F., III, p. 422
25.	C. 1750	53,61,93,190	Dastūr - 173, ff. 8 a - b
26.	"	54,53,00,335	Add. 6599, f. 119 a

Table - B

Sarkār	Map-area * (Sq.Mile) (M)	Jama' (dāms) (J)	Jama' per Sq. Mile J/M
Bihar			
1.(i) Measured mahāls	5284	7,43,19,750	14065.05
(ii) Unmeasured mahāls	11920	1,01,45,740	851.15
2. Munger	7745	3,14,04,181	4054.76
3. Champaran	3376	55,13,420	1633.12
4. Hajipur	2479	2,73,31,030	11025.02
5. Saran	4028	1,61,72,004	4014.89
6. Tirhut	6509	1,91,89,777	2948.19
7. Rohtas	6466	4,08,19,493	6312.94

* Map-area of the sarkārs has been taken from Irfan Habib, Atlas of the Mughal Empire, pp. VII.

TABLE E

Hasil Figures of Suba Bihar

S.NO.	Year	Jama (Rupees)*	Hasil (Rupees)	Hasil as % of jama		Source
1.	1685	98,58,613	85,17,683	36.39		Br.P.P. III p.4
2.	1687 - c. 1691	1,01,79,525	93,05,431	91.41		Zawabit ff.130b-131a
3.	1687 - c. 1695	1,01,79,525	93,25,551	91.61	Kamil**	Frazer 86 f.59
4.	1709	1,01,79,525	93,05,431	91.41		Jagjiwan Das ff. 51 a -54 a.
5.	1712 - 19	1,32,13,883	1,31,13,668	99.99	Kamil**	Add.6586, ff 90a-101a
6.	c. 1750	1,34,04,829	1,00,79,141	75.93	Kamil**	Dastur-73 & Br.P. III, p.422.
7.	c. 1750	1,34,04,829	95,56,098	71.28	Hasil-i Ausat (Average)	Dastur-73

* The jama given in dams has been converted in to rupees at the rate of 1 rupee = 40 dams.

** It is specifially mentioned that the realization is Hasil-i Kamil (The highest revenue realization over a period of time).

Table F

Sarkar-wise Hasil figures

Sarkar	A Jama (J)	A Hasil (H)	A H.As % of J.	B Jama J	B Hasil H	B H.As % of J	C Jama (J)	C Hasil-i Kamil (HK)	C Hasil-i Ausat (HA)	C HK as % of J
	(In Rupees)						(in Rupees)			
Bihar	40,42,736	36,49,222	90.28	58,39,044	57,39,050	98.28	57,66,944	38,81,742	38,48,800	67.31
Munger	13,12,041	10,25,660	78.17	15,32,741	15,57,741	101.63	15,54,340	11,30,150	8,98,792	72.70
Rohtas	6,21,614	7,77,295	125.04	8,85,693	8,85,723	100.00	8,61,500	5,39,565	5,45,565	62.63
Shahabad	7,75,938	4,55,538	58.70	12,64,933	12,64,728	99.98	12,41,233	9,07,875	8,26,845	73.14
Tirhut	7,74,586	7,69,287	99.31	10,22,629	10,22,620	100.00	10,43,991	8,37,015	8,20,042	80.17
Hajipur	11,58,342	10,29,309	88.86	12,83,863	12,83,864	100.00	13,04,575	9,37,431	8,28,101	71.85
Saran	9,29,053	8,01,461	86.21	10,42,893	10,70,392	102.63	10,46,805	9,29,856	9,29,856	88.82
Champaran	2,44,300	9,211*	3.77	2,89,551	2,89,550	99.99	2,89,551	2,00,217	2,00,217	69.14

Sources: A. Br. BP. III, (1685 AD); B. Add. 6586 (1712-1719 AD); (Dastur-73 & Br.P.P.III (c.1750) Hasil-i Ausat is given in Dastur-73 only.

Noted - Jama figures given in dams have been converted into rupees at the rate of Rs. = 40 dams.

Dastural Amal No.73 provides two sorts of hasil for every sarkar, that is, hasil-i Kamil and hasil-i Ausat.

* For the sarkar of Champaran, the hasil figure seems incorrect.

Appendix - A

Sarkar-wise Revenue Figure - Suba Bihar:

Source Year	Ain* c.1595-96	Br.P.P.III 1685	Chahar Gulshan 1656-1687	Add. 6586 1712-19	Add.6586 1735-36	Dastur-73 Br.PP III c.1750	Add. c.
Sarkar							
Bihar	8,44,65,490	16,17,09,460	16,18,76,391	23,35,61,764	22,04,45,426	23,06,77,954	23,26,
Munger	2,96,22,181	5,24,81,660	4,02,23,024	6,13,04,661	6,17,25,584	6,21,73,618	6,61,
Champaran	55,13,420	97,72,023	96,24,121	1,15,82,045	1,13,75,720	1,15,82,046	1,15,
Hajipur	2,73,36,635	4,63,33,691	4,53,27,400	5,13,54,594	5,20,28,308	5,21,83,036	5,12,
Saran	1,61,72,304	3,71,62,144	3,53,28,800	4,18,15,730	4,27,79,308	4,18,72,239	4,18,
Tirhut	1,92,20,822	3,09,83,443	2,94,83,210	4,09,40,791	4,19,04,851	4,17,59,644	4,58,
Rohtas**	4,08,79,201	2,48,64,583	2,82,82,017	3,54,27,351	3,55,56,154	3,44,60,008	4,96,
Shahabad*		3,10,37,528	2,84,12,018	5,45,97,341	4,99,17,116	4,96,49,346	3,44,

The revenue figures are given in dams.

* The revenue figures given here for Ain have been calculated from pargana-wise figures given i two MSS. Add. 6552 & Add. 7652.

** Sarkar of Rohtas sometime after the compilation of Ain was divided into two, Rohtas & Shahab

Appendix - B

Pargana Level Break-down of jama statistics for sūba Bihar

(1595-1736)

S. No.	Pargana	Āīn	Kāghzāt-I	Kāghzāt - II
	1	2	3	4
A - SARKĀR BIHAR				
1.	Arwal	4,26,780	77,98,544	76,22,244
2.	Okri	37,47,940	62,14,804	62,63,700
3.	Ekil	30,05,260	98,32,162	96,86,344
4.	Amarto	18,21,633	18,96,400	18,91,400
5.	Anblo	8,47,920	-	-
6.	Ancha	67,00,000	11,02,000	12,66,000
7.	Atri (Tetwa)	1,47,980	5,20,000	5,20,000
8.	Bihar	55,34,151	1,90,36,039	1,85,58,150
9.	Bhalawar	36,51,640	71,79,757	70,57,656
10.	Biswak	27,06,530	57,51,020	57,31,420
11.	Pilich	29,70,438	59,28,240	59,06,560
12.	Ballia	20,56,902	60,18,199	57,33,400
13.	Patna (Azimabad)	19,22,430	62,43,197	61,84,438
14.	Phulwari	15,85,420	34,42,760	33,89,185
15.	Pahara	9,41,160	13,99,863	13,99,863
16.	Bhimpur	8,24,584	34,21,000	29,92,465
17.	Pandag	7,27,340	7,30,000	-
18.	Telhera	29,20,366	1,21,72,256	1,21,35,744
19.	Jaror	9,79,363	11,15,880	11,16,080
20.	Charkan Wan	9,04,440	18,30,140	18,00,143
21.	Chaichampa	6,20,000	5,06,000	5,06,000
22.	Dadar	2,62,500	6,00,000	6,00,000
23.	Dakhnor	2,15,680	4,42,654	4,12,254
24.	Roh	2,50,100	11,50,000	11,50,000
25.	Rampur	3,63,820	4,42,140	4,41,160
26.	Rajgir	2,88,278	15,37,000	15,17,200

II

1	2	3	4
27. Sanent	28,24,180	18,00,000	48,00,400
28. Somai	25,37,080	65,90,770	63,93,200
29. Sahra (Jarrah)	20,79,000	9,33,300	9,33,300
30. Sandah	18,89,957	1,23,33,540	1,14,66,647
31. Seor	12,50,591	15,90,000	15,90,000
32. Ghayaspur	56,57,290	1,96,19,332	88,22,812
33. Gidhaur	14,52,500	16,79,560	13,73,023
34. Kati Bahra	7,37,440	1,08,000	70,820
35. Kabar	5,60,875	10,00,000	10,00,000
36. Goh	3,74,880	8,97,000	8,97,600
37. Ghati Bihar	3,60,820	8,00,000	8,00,000
38. Karanpur	3,63,820	-	-
39. Gaya	74,270	23,00,000	23,00,100
40. Maner	70,49,179	-	-
41. Masaudha	46,31,080	95,85,114	64,79,136
42. Maldah	21,51,575	31,30,670	31,29,000
43. Manarwa	5,85,500	7,11,000	7,12,000
44. Maher	17,79,540	37,80,000	37,80,000
45. Narhat	23,83,309	65,74,713	65,70,088
46. Palamau	-	1,31,50,000	1,31,66,000
47. Bist Hazari	-	5,95,145	5,95,145
48. Baikanthpur	-	9,00,000	9,00,000
49. Salimabad	-	16,23,387	15,73,622
50. Shahjahanpur	-	28,63,351	27,87,641
51. Mandvi Bogampur	-	1,07,800	3,00,000
52. Mandvi Sultanpur	-	1,00,00,000	99,00,000
53. Wilayat Khokhra	-	92,00,000	92,00,000
Others	-	1,52,70,090 (3 parganas)	61,88,943 (4 parganas)

III

1	2	3	4
B-	SARKĀR CHAMPARAN		
1.	Simraun	5,90,095	8,60,000	8,60,000
2.	Mehsi	35,18,435	66,82,045	65,15,720
3.	Majhora	14,04,980	44,00,000	40,00,000
C-	SARKĀR HAJIPUR		
1.	Akbarpur	1,95,040	2,63,287	2,63,287
2.	Bhusari	6,24,791	21,49,600	21,86,000
3.	Basara	63,80,000	1,21,87,500	1,21,87,800
4.	Balagach	9,13,660	23,06,244	23,06,248
5.	Teghra	35,18,354	-	-
6.	Hajipur ba Haveli	38,39,460	66,25,039	66,37,035
7.	Rati	18,12,580	40,49,344	40,21,344
8.	Saressa	67,04,000	1,40,64,780	1,37,96,520
9.	Imadpur	7,95,870	19,23,320	19,13,396
10.	Gadhsandh	8,76,200	11,00,500	11,00,660
11.	Naipur	16,63,980	34,05,400	35,06,400
12.	Maki	-	41,23,784	41,06,624
13.	Kasbaha	-	21,55,600	-
14.				
D -	SARKĀR SĀRAN		
1.	Andar	5,34,990	12,67,034	12,76,034
2.	Bari	5,33,920	20,00,000	20,00,000
3.	Bal	48,93,374	54,49,596	54,50,736
4.	Barah	9,93,797	27,98,136	27,96,236
5.	Narhan	6,54,508	10,60,000	10,60,000
6.	Pachlak	4,37,997	16,82,300	16,82,600
7.	Cherand	6,33,270	20,36,750	20,15,543

IV

1	2	3	4
8. Chanbara	4,00,000	-	-
9. Jobna	3,09,285	20,00,000	20,00,000
10. Dangsi	2,77,630	9,00,000	9,00,000
11. Sipa	2,90,596	20,67,658	19,67,658
12. Goa	20,12,950	53,06,662	53,06,662
13. Kalyanpur	7,74,496	44,80,000	45,80,000
14. Kasmar	13,14,539	33,27,847	33,16,147
15. Mangji	6,11,813	23,97,000	24,94,000
16. Marhal	6,98,140	-	-
17. Mukair	8,11,095	16,06,247	16,06,792
18. Haveli Saran	-	22,85,000	22,85,000
19. Shahjahanbed/ Shahjahanpur	-	10,00,000	10,00,000
20. Others	-	11,50,000 (one pargana)	31,50,000 (Three parganas)
E- SARKĀR ROHTAS[1]			
1. Arrah	40,28,100	85,42,200	85,39,200
2. Bhojpur	49,03,310	-	-
3. Piru	34,07,840	96,70,760	96,70,760
4. Panwar	16,77,000	31,18,000	31,18,000
5. Burahgawan	8,42,400	15,52,597	15,52,597
6. Chaud/Chainpur	44,40,360	1,18,28,233	1,13,67,233
7. Jidar	16,34,110	-	-
8. Denwar	20,75,520	25,34,600	25,34,600
9. Dinara	3,50,000	27,00,360	29,23,500
10. Rohtas ba Haveli	22,58,620	31,24,000	31,23,000
11. Ratanpur	7,83,425	16,40,000	7,83,425
12. Sirsi	27,69,466	47,73,211	47,73,211
13. Sahasram	23,70,790	1,04,75,036	1,04,63,336
14. Bihiya Fatehpur	37,36,040	66,94,840	66,94,840
15. Kotra	18,29,300	-	-

1. Sarkār Rohtas was later on divided into two, Rohtas & Shahhabad.

1		2	3	4
16.	Kot	8,47,920	8,47,700	8,47,730
17.	Mangraur	9,25,000	16,80,083	16,80,083
18.	Nanor	20,00,000	28,73,880	28,28,000
19.	Japla	-	16,90,000	21,90,000
20.	Bilaunja	-	2,20,000	2,20,000
21.	Shahhabad[1]	-	34,18,371	34,18,374
22.	Shahabad Haveli[1]	-	87,41,720	87,41,720
F-	SARKĀR MUNGER			
1.	Abhaipur	20,00,000	5,95,449	5,95,790
2.	Osla	1,89,760	4,30,000	4,30,500
3.	Angu	1,47,800		
4.	Anblu	50,000	1,00,000	1,00,000
5.	Bhagalpur	46,96,110	1,10,70,426	1,10,02,426
6.	Ballia	32,87,320	52,83,576	51,96,576
7.	Pharkiya	30,00,000	42,38,134	42,38,525
8.	Pathrora	1,40,920	12,85,200	12,85,500
9.	Pasai	1,32,000	3,00,000	3,59,060
10.	Tinaur ?	88,408	1,00,000	50,000
11.	Chhai	29,80,000	35,00,000	35,00,000
12.	Chandwai	3,60,000	4,00,000	4,00,000
13.	Dharampur	40,00,000	40,70,000	40,77,000
14.	Danda Sakhwara	1,36,000	3,00,000	8,00,000
15.	Rohini	95,360	-	-
16.	Sorehi	17,83,000	76,72,828	76,53,886
17.	Sikhdhara	6,90,240	13,75,000	13,85,000
18.	Sikhauli	3,60,000	3,60,000	3,60,000
19.	Surajgarh	2,99,445	14,85,239	14,80,441

1. This is probably Bhojpur of the Āīn. because the sarkār of Shahhabad was also known as Bhojpur.

VI

1	2	3	4
20. Sakhrasani	1,60,000	6,06,274	5,99,176
21. Sathiari	58,730	1,62,668	1,62,668
22. Khalgaon	28,00,000	55,79,340	55,79,340
23. Kherhi	6,89,044	12,22,197	12,22,280
24. Khuzra	2,60,210	3,70,000	3,70,000
25. Khatbaki	1,60,000	2 ,50,000	2,50,700
26. Lakhanpur	6,33,280	23,08,866	24,20,326
27. Masjidpur	12,59,750	21,62,000	20,40,000
28. Munger ba Hindi	8,08,907	28,80,296	28,24,847
29. Mandi	20,725	3,65,000	
30. Hindvi	1,08,000	3,00,000	3,50,000
31. Hazer Tukk	9,172	20,000	20,000
32. Jamdan ?	-	7,25,770	7,25,770
33. Jahangirabad	-	13,11,797	13,11,797
34. Roz Afzun/ Kharakpur	-	44,00,000	44,00,000
Other Parganas	-	11,65,436 (6 parganas)	13,05,436 (7 parganas)
G- SARKĀR TIRHUT			
1. Ahispur	3,02,550	-	-
2. Uttarkhand	1,28,412	3,00,000	3,00,000
3. Ahil wara	62,212	3,70,600	3,71,000
4. Ablu	60,000	-	-
5. Oghara	53,980	3,17,780	3,17,750
6. Atheis	34,356	6,29,794	6,29,564
7. Basri 4 Mahāls	11,25,000	11,30,000	11,30,000
8. Bharwara	9,42,000	16,41,702	16,41,702
9. Nanpur	8,94,792	12,39,690	-
10. Barail	7,89,858	15,94,880	15,31,051
11. Padri	5,54,258	3,90,000	8,00,000

VII

	1	2	3	4
12.	Basatra	5,46,627	-	-
13.	Pachhi	3,61,920	4,05,000	4,00,000
14.	Bahnor	2,89,773	4,26,731	-
15.	Bichaur	2,75,185	7,40,000	7,40,000
16.	Pachim Bhigu	2,71,826	3,00,000	3,00,000
17.	Bugra	2,67,862	2,07,000	2,07,000
18.	Purab Bhigu	2,22,280	5,30,530	5,23,600
19.	Pindaruj	1,95,837	-	-
20.	Bade Bhusar	1,75,585	-	1,80,000
21.	Bhala	1,45,437	-	-
22.	Bhadwar	1,30,471	2,40,000	2,40,000
23.	Pariharpur	1,61,067	-, ,	4,20,000
24.	Bahadurpur	1,19,305	32,500	32,000
25.	Babra	1,12,591	22,27,540	22,27,090
26.	Berai	90,369	-	-
27.	Parihar Reghu	81,605	-	1,31,000
28.	Sahora	69,608	2,40,000	2,40,000
29.	Palwari	65,326	-	-
30.	Bura	55,757	7,50,000	-
31.	Banwan	40,539	4,00,000	4,78,000
32.	Paritharpur Jhatai	37,736	70,000	70,000
33.	Bingi	31,550	3,28,000	3,00,000
34.	Bachawar	12,875	-	-
35.	Parsani	12,695	2,90,000	2,90,000
36.	Tariyani	4,43.242	7,40,197	5,71,699
37.	Tilok Chawan	1,49,896	10,08,500	9,64,500
38.	Tajpur	85,434	1,50,000	1,50,000
39.	Tanda	63,768	-	-

VIII

1	2	3	4
40. Tarson	61,180	-	-
41. Tirsat	13,07,706	17,11,890	3,40,000
42. Jakhal	10,68,020	15,71,370	14,85,370
43. Jarail	5,15,732	9,83,152	8,13,237
44. Chakmani	3,21,326	5,35,000	5,31,000
45. Jakhel	1,96,020	-	-
46. Jabdi	54,025	2,40,000	2,40,000
47. Dharaur	2,02,818	16,95,391	15,00,591
48. Darbhanga (Haveli)	1,50,052	2,18,000	2,18,000
49. Ram Chaund	4,70,005	1,01,000	80,030
50. Saresla	9,41,010	-	-
51. Salimpur	29,094	1,40,000	1,40,000
52. Salimabad	4,184	25,000	1,40,000
53. Sanjauli Tadra	1,50,843	-	-
54. Alapur	4,42,466	4,50,000	4,50,000
55. Faqrabad	4,72,355	80,000	80,000
56. Kanhauli	4,08,304	4,60,000	4,60,000
57. Garh Chand	3,49,480	11,40,000	10,02,400
58. Kuda Khand	2,43,377	4,90,000	4,90,000
59. Korandi	90,000	1,00,000	1,00,000
60. Khand	21,443	1,00,000	1,00,000
61. Laduri	1,42,495	4,50,000	4,50,000
62. Mahila	9,46,048	-	-
63. Marwa	5,15,485	15,07,600	15,40,000
64. Mohind	66,393	72,000	72,000
65. Naranga	39,022	54,000	54,000
66. Malni (Gopal)	9,728	-	-
67. Lowan	2,88,140	10,44,258	10,44,258
68. Nautan	2,09,153	-	-
69. Habi	1,59,790	5,32,000	5,32,000

IX

1	2	3	4
70. Hirni	50,342	2,30,000	2,30,000
71. Hati	2,30,700	7,00,000	7,00,000
72. Akbarpur	-	1,50,000	1,50,000
73. Jahangirabad	-	1,00,000	1,00,000
74. Jambadpur	-	3,40,000	3,40,000
75. Dilawarpur	-	17,000	17,000
76. Shajahanpur	-	1,60,000	1,60,000
77. Gopalpur	-	2,00,000	2,00,000
Others -	-	69,99,581 (30 parganas)	65,43,719 (28 parganas)

Source: Āīn, I, pp. 416-23; Kāghazāt-i Mutafarriqa, Add.6586, ff. 99 a - 101 a; Ibid; 146 a - 153 b

Note: 1; All Jama' figures are given in dāms.

2. The jama' of number of parganas whose names are illegible have not been listed individually. However, the total number of such parganas alongwith their Jama' have been cited at the end of each sarkār list. In case where the revenue figure is not stated against a source it means that pargana is not listed in that particulars source.

Appendix - C

The tables of revenue in the Dastūr-'al-'Amal-i 'Ālamgīrī include the sarkār of Islamnagar in Gujarat which was annexed and made a part of the ṣūba in 1661.[1]

The nomenclature is also of some help. The ṣūba and sarkār of Bihar are refered to as Azimabad which was so named only at the close of the 17th century when Prince Azam was the Governor of Bihar. The sarkār of Gorakhpur is mentioned as Muazzimabad which was so named some time in the reign of Aurangzeb.

Again, the revenue figures in some other sources of a much later period closely conforming to the figures of the above Dastūr-al'Amal help us to fix a date. One of these is the early English settlement Reports of James Grant. This report gives sarkār-wise break-up of revenue figures.[2] The jama' figures of the sarkārsof Champaran, Rohtas, Shahabad, Saran, peshkash and seir-o-jehāt, too, are very close to these in the Dastūr-al'.Amal under study; for the rest of the sarkārs the figures do not vary much.

Again, the number of the parganas are the same in both the sources. In the same report, that is, of James Grant, we get sarkār-wise figures for the sūba of Allahabad also, wherein the figures of Grant and the said dastūr are exactly the same for each sarkār and, hence, the total figure of the sūbā, too, are the same.[3] James Grant's figures for Bihar

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1. Mohammad Karim, 'Ālamgīrnāma, p. 768., Saqi Mustaid Khan, Ma'ā Sir-i 'Ālamgīrī, pp. 42-43.
2. British Parliamentary Papers, Vol. III, p. 422.
3. Dastūr-al'.'Amal-i 'Ālamgīrī, op.cit., ff. 1180; British Parliamentary Papers, Vol. III, p. 441.

relate to 1750 and those of Allahabad to 1748-49. It is also to be noted that the copy of the said dastūr'al Amal (B.M. Add. 6599)was prepared in 1786 and bears the seal of James Grant for the same year. This was probably prepared to help him in understanding the revenue administration of the period. Grant's report includes the revenue figures of Akbar's and Aurangzeb's reign. The figures of the two earlier periods are correct and there is little possibility ~~on the part of~~ that James Grant ~~to~~ could provide incorrect figures for his near-contemporary period.

I have come across another dastūr-al'Amal (Aligarh) compiled in the earlier part of the second half of the 18th century,[1] which gives a detailed sarkār-wise jama' and hāsil figures for a number of sūbas. For Bihar, its revenue figures are identical with those contained in the Grant's report. For other sūbas, such as, Gujarat, Delhi, Agra, Lahore, Allahabad, Awadh, Malwa, etc. (the sūbas having exceptionally high jama' in dastūr-al' Amal-i 'Ālamgīrī), its figures closely conform to those of the dastūr-al 'Amal-i 'Ālamgīrī. Another striking features is that the dastūr-al 'Amal-i 'Ālamgīrī gives a separate column for sair - jihāt in a number of sūbas as is the case with Grant's report and the Aligarh dastūr-al'Amal. This is not found in any of the earlier manuals. This fairly suggests some organic link between the above three sources.

In the light of the above discussion, it is probable that the jama' figures of the dastūr-al 'Amal-i 'Ālamgiri (for the sūbas having exceptionally high 'jama') actually relate to 1747-50. These were included in the said manual at the time of copying it in 1786 as a help to the British administration of the period. For the rest of the sūbas, thefigures belong to different periods.

APPENDIX D

The collector of Bhagalpur in 1787 in a letter to John Shore informed him about the working of qānūngos under the Mughals on the basis of a large number of records available to him. The collector also gave the following list of the papers maintained by the qānūngos.[1]

1.	"Dastūr-al ʿamal"	: a collection of ruler for the use of revenue officials.
2.	"Aml-dastur"	: the new circulars of officials and new rules.
3.	"Fihrist-i dihat"	: list of villages
4.	"Shahi amdani"	: the royal revenue accounts
5.	"Aml-i taskhis-i bandobust"	: particulars of the assessment and settlement.
6.	"Jama-bandi khas"	: account of the revenue assessment of land in the charge of officials.
7.	"Jama-seir-i chabutra kotwali"	: miscelleneous accounts of income from markets, customs and ferries.
8.	"Jama mahal mir bahri"	: dues from river transport etc.
9.	"Jama Panchautra"	: a transit duty of five percent.
10.	"Jama mahal bandraki"	: accounts of a duty of one percent for keeping highways.

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1. Bhagalpur Records, vol. 6, Letter dated 6th December, 1787.

11. "Ismnavisi zamindaran" : List of names of zamindars.

12. "Hakikat Bazi zamin" : particulars of revenue free land.

13. "Jama muqqarrari-o-istimurari": Fixed and permanent revenue papers.

14. "Wasil Baki" : Accounts of balance

15. "Haqiqat-i rozinadaran" : particulars of pensioners.

* * *

C H A P T E R VII

REVENUE GRANTS

Besides jāgīr, the Mughal Emperors left a portion of the land-revenue for grant to the various categories of people either in the form of land or cash. This grant was generally termed as madad-i ma'āsh. Other terms used in the contemporary accounts to indicate such grants are milk, amlak and a'imma.[1] Abul Fazl has, however, used an altogether different appellation 'suyūrghāl', perhaps to encompass both cash and land grants. In the statistical tables of the chapter entitled 'Account of the twelve sūbas', too, Abul Fazl provides a separate column under the head suyūrghāl', where he gives parganawise figures in dāms. A large number of such grants from Bihar sūba are still available which have been used for the purpose of this study.[2] Unlike

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1. For the origin and use of these different terms, see Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p.298. For a discussion about the use of a'imma' see Rafat Bilgrami, Religious & Quasi religious Departments & c., pp.208-216.

2. Numerous such documents are preserved in the Bihar state Archives, Patna, and different collectorates of the province, Abridged english translations of a large number of these documents have been provided by K.K. Datta, Some Firmāns, Sanads and Parwānas. But Datta does not discussion some important questions, such as the terms used, the form and the detailed contents of the documents, etc. At best, it may be used as a descriptive catalogue of the extant documents. I regret that I was not able to examine the documents preserved in different collectorates. Hence, for these I have relied on Datta. TheKhuda Baksh Oriental Publc Library, Patna and the Patna University Library also possess a number of such documents.

certain other sūbas for which Abul Fazl gives very detailed suyūrghāl figures, his figures for Bihar are shockingly incomplete. He gives suyūrghāl figures for the sūba as a whole, and out of seven sarkārs of the sūba, pargana-wise figures for the sarkār of Bihar only.[1] No suyūrghāl figures have been given for other six sarkārs of the sūba. Actually the amount shown for the sūba as a whole is the suyūrghāl-figures given for the sarkār of Bihar. But the absence of the suyūrghāl-figures for other sarkārs may not be taken to mean that no land-grants were made in these sarkārs, especially when we have a few such grants for Akbar's reign[2] and innumerable such instances are available for the period of the successive emperors. The absence of such data in the Āīn strengthens our view discussed elsewhere in this study that the statistical survey of Bihar was not completed by the time of the compilation of the Āīn.

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1. Āīn, pp. 417-19.

2. For the grants of Akbar in Hajipur, see Basta No.815 (Muzaffarpur), State Archives, Patna. Also Datta, Firmāns, op.cit., pp. 126-27; For Rohtas, see Datta, p.70. For the grants of Akbar in other sarkārs see No. 396 at Bodl.Lib. Photo copy at Patna University Library, and Bhagalpur documents (Transcribed copies at the Department of History, A.M.U. Aligarh. Also S.H. Askari, 'Documents Relating to a old Family of Sufi Saints of Bihar', IHRC, XXVI, pt. II,pp. 1-7.

The suyūrghāl-figures of the Āīn for the sūba, though incomplete, do give us some idea of the amount alienated by the royalty through such grants and also their distribution in the sarkār of Bihar. Out of a total of 45 parganas in the sarkār of Bihar (the total pargana in the sūba were 199), the suyūrghāl figures are given only for 19. There appears some discrepancy in ~~the~~ Abul Fazl's figures. His actual total of both the jama' and suyūrghāl do not tally with the total provided for the sarkar. I have, therefore, calculated the pargana-wise figures for the sarkār.[1]

In Table I, the pargana-wise jama' and suyūrghāl-figures of the Ā'īn have been given and, then,, the proportion of the suyūrghāl to the jama' has been worked out.

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1. Ā'īn, pp. 417-19. All the figures have been collated with two MSS. of Āīn Br.Mus. Add. 7652 and Add. 6552.

T A B L E I

Suyūrghāl Statistics of Sarkār Bihar

Pargana	Jama' (J)	Suyūrghāl (S)	S. as % of J.
1. Arwal	4,26,780	-	-
2. Okri	37,47,940	-	-
3. Ekil	30,05,260	-	-
4. Amarto	18,21,633	16,035	.88
5. Amblo	8,47,920	-	
6. Ancha	67,00,000	-	
7. Antri	1,47,980	-	
8. Bihar bāhaveli	55,34,951	6,53,200	11.80
9. Bhalawar	36,51,640	9,000	.24
10. Biswak	27,06,530	1,70,630	6.30
11. Pilich	22,70,438	59,185	2.60
12. Balie	20,56,902	85,787	4.16
13. Patna	19,22,430	1,31,807	6.85
14. Phulwari	15,85,420	1,18,820	7.45
15. Rohera	9,41,160	18,560	1.97
16. Bhimpur	8,24,584	24,424	2.96
17. Pundrag	7,27,340	-	-
18. Tehara	29,20,366	2,32,080	7.94
19. Jaror	9,79,363	8,380	.85
20. Charkanwar	9,04,440	-	-
21. Chai-champa	6,20,200	-	-
22. Dadar	2,62,500	-	-

Table I (Continued)

Pargana	Jama' (J)	Suyūrghāl (S)	S.as % of J.
23. Dakhnar	2,15,680	-	-
24. Roh	2,50,100	-	-
25. Rampur	3,63,820	-	-
26. Rajgir	2,88,228	17,225	-
27. Sanet	28,24,180	-	-
28. Somai	25,37,080	62,680	2.47
29. Sahra	20,79,000	-	-
30. Sanda	18,89,957	-	-
31. Seor	12,50,591	-	-
32. Ghyaspur	56,57,290	2,27,454	4.02
33. Gidhaur	14,52,500	-	-
34. Ghati-Bahra	7,37,440	-	
35. Kabar	5,60,875	-	
36. Goh	3,74,880	-	
37. Ghatipahar	3,60,820	-	
38. Karanpur	3,63,820	-	
39. Gaya	74,270	14,230	19.15
40. Maner	70,49,179	3,25,380	4.61
41. Masaudha	46,31,080	-	-
42. Malda	21,51,875	49,805	2.31
43. Manarwa	5,85,500	-	-
44. Maher	17,79,540	47,700	2.68
45. Narhat	23,83,309	-	-
Total	8,44,65,690	22,71,642	2.68

As the table shows, the suyūrghāl bore no impressive proportion to the total revenue, it being a meagre 2.68% of the jama' in the sarkār of Bihar. Individual pargana-wise figures, however, show that the proportion of the suyūrghāl to the jama' was not always so low. In atleast one pargana (Bihar be-havelī), it was remarkably high (11.8%). In pargana Gaya, too, it was as much as 19.18%, and in four others (Biswak, Patna, Phulwari & Tehara) it was above 5%. The pargana of Bihar being the head-quarters of the sarkār, a higher suyūrghāl proportion is obvious. Such a high proportion (19.18%) of the suyūrghāl for the pargana of Gaya is a bit puzzling. There may be three possible explanations for that. Firstly, the pargana was situated in the extreme south of the sarkār where the whole region was sparsely cultivated. The pargana shows a low jama' also (74,270 dāms). The Mughal administration's will to extend the cultivation in this region might have prompted them to bestow grants liberally. Secondly, Gaya being a pilgrimage centre, the territory was dotted with a large number of shrines and temples which would have got a large share of such grants. A third possibility may have been that the jama' figures of the Ā'īn for Gaya is not complete as the later accounts show a very high jama' for Gaya.[1] Patna, the largest town and the headquarters of

1. The jama' of Gaya for 1709-12 & 1736 was around 23,00,000 dāms as against 74,270 dāms of Ā'īn (see Ā'īn, pp.417-19) Kāghazāt-i Mutafarriqa, Add.6586, ff.99a-b, 146 & 147).

the sūba, naturally attracted a higher suyūrghāl proportion. The pargana of Phulwari carried a higher proportion of the suyūrghāl, possibly because it was a famous seat of mystics. Besides, its proximity to the principal town Patna, too, might have contributed towards its having a higher suyūrghāl figure. As for Telhara and Biswak, their high proportion of the suyūrghāl was probably due to the fact that they were situated near the pargana Bihar - the sarkār head-quarters - thus, under a better administrative control. Such figures for other sarkārs are not available for the 16th century. But a number of grants, mostly from the 17th century, give us some idea of the distribution of such grants. These grants have been arranged in a tabular form below on the basis of the available farmān, sanads and parwānas. We have considered only those sarkārs for which a number of grants are available.

T A B L E II

Sarkār & pargana	Farmāns	Parwānas Sanads	Source
SHAHABAD			
Arrah	3	12	Bastanas.
Chaund	3	-	41,77,79,398,680 & 726
Chausa	1	3	Archives, Patna
Behia		6	~~Datta~~
Bhojpur		4	Datta, pp.52-78
Peero		9	
Others		3	
Total	7	42	
SARAN			
Ander	16	9	Bastanas, 6, 25, 26, 35, 37, 42, 61, 62
Kasmar	2	3	176, 203, 225, 268, 461, 473 Archives Patna.
Bara	3	-	Datta, pp.32-51
Others	1	2	
Total	22	14	

Table II (Continued)

Sarkār & pargana	Farmāns	Parwānas Sanads	Source
HAJIPUR			
Haveli Hajipur	19	15	Basta Nos. 242,248,291,432,622, 630,631,636,635,638, 654,668,673,674,684, 691,694,695,696,699, 700,704,,791,807,810, 812,823,884,& 848.
Saraisa	6	4	Archives,Patna.
Bisara	5	7	Datta,pp.86-129.
Ratti	2	2	Patna University, Nos. 61,62.
Others		3	
Total	32	31	
CHAMPARAN			
Mehsi	-	14	
Majhowa	-	3	Datta,pp.25-32
Simraun	-	1	
Total	-	18	

Our statistics show that the sarkār headquarters or established towns claimed a large number of grants. Arrah and Peero in Shahabad, Haveli-Hajipur in Hajipur, Andar in Saran[1] and pargana Mehsi in Champaran[2] claimed the bulk of grants. Similarly, the British revenue officers in 1793 found that most of the revenue-free land-grants in Tirhut were in the pargana of Darbhanga,[3] the headquarters of the sarkār.

A survey of the available madad-i ma'āsh documents for the 17th century shows that such land-grants overwhelmingly out number the cash grants. In fact, it appears that the Mughal administration some times preferred to give land grants instread of cash grants. We even come across a few madad-i ma'āsh documents from Bihar (Shahjahan and Aurangzeb) proclaiming cancellation of cash grants and in

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1. For Saran, no sarkār headquarter has been given either in the Āīn or in the latter sources, but Andar seems to have been an important pargana.

2. For champaran also the headquarter of the sarkār has not been given, but in all probability Mehsi was the headquarter of the sarkār (see Chapter one-on Geography).

3. J.H.Kerr, Survey and Settlement Report - Darbhanga, pp. 22-23.

their place land-grants were bestowed on the grantees.[1]

As to the beneficiaries of these grants, Abul Fazl describes four social groups for this purpose:[2] 'seekers of true knowledge' (Āgahī jūyān-i abad andēsha); 'men of learning who had renowned the world' (Ranj Kashān-i Khweshtan gudāz); 'destitute person' (Darmāndgān-i tahidast) and 'men of noble birth' (buzurg zādgān-i āzarm).

In addition to these categories, we notice the madad-i ma'āsh grants in Bihar being given to certain other groups as well. For example, in Aurangzeb's reign (1682), we find Sundar, a physician, receiving in grant the village Rampur Shomkar in pargana Mehsi of sarkār Champaran for extending his medical treatment to the ailing public.[3] Another physician, Pitambar Miśir, was also given 70 bīghas of land as madad-i ma'āsh in the pargana of Bhojpur (sarkār Bhojpur) in 1668.[4] Another category of the beneficiaries, not

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1 . Basta No.695 (Muzaffarpur), Archives, Patna, Also see Datta, pp. 57-58, 62.

2 . Ā'īn, p.198.

3 . Datta, Firmān, p.30.

4 . Ibid., p.68. Such grants to physicians were given to Mehr Tabib, a Parsi physician of Navsari in Gujarat (See, S.H.Hodivala, Studies in Parsi History, Bombay,) 1920, pp. 75-76, 176-79, 182-83.

explicitly mentioned by Abul Fazl but found in Bihar, is of the qāzīs. The earliest evidence for grant to a qāzī is from Akbar'sreign (1589-90) when Mirza Syed Sulaiman was appointed the qāzī and khatīb of pargana Ancha in sarkār Bihar and a madad-i ma'āsh grant was attached to it.[1] When Qazi Abdur Rahim was appointed the qāzī of pargana Haveli Majipur (1633-34) on the death of his father Qāzī Abdul Hakim Alvi, a madad-i ma'āsh grant of 250 bīghas was also given to the former.[2] Almost all the orders relating to the appointment of the qāzīs carry with them a madad-i ma'āsh grant also.[3]

Apart from the grants given to individuals for their personal use, a number of grants appear to have been given for the maintenance and upkeep of religious establishments such as mosques, shrines and khānqahs, etc. and for helping the poor and needy dependent on these establishments as well. These were sometimes termed as auqāf. Once two hundred bīghas of land was given away in pargana Ander of sarkār Sāran (1657) in order to meet the expenses of the khānqah of Syed Jalal as well as for the expenses of the

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1. The photocopy of the farmān is preserved in the Patna University Library, No.1288.
2. Basta No. 688 Muzaffarpur, Bihar State Archives, Patna.
3. For such grants, see Datta, Firmān, pp.32,53,73. Irfan Habib is of the opinion that the office of the qāzī always implied a madad-i ma'āsh grant (Agrarian System, p.312).

poor and needy under the mutawalliship of Syed Rajay.[1] A number of grants of this kind from other parts of the sūba are also available.[2] A certain Qazi Badruddin was given 60 bīghās of land in (1677) qasba Surajpur of pargana Majhowa (sarkār Champaran) as madad-i ma'āsh and also for meeting the expenses of repairs and illumination of the mosque.[3] A number of grants were made to women. Some times these were for more than 500 bīghās of land.[4] There was a separate department at the centre to make grants to women under the supervision of a lady.[5]

Yet another form of grant was by lowering the revenue demand to a nominal figure. A parwāna of the 50th regnal year of Aurangzeb gave the village Karamdhari of pargana Sahasram (sarkār Rohtas) tc Shaikh Abdullah and Shaikh Khalilullah on a fixed jama' of Rs.5 for the expenses of the students studying theology under them.[6]

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1 . Basta No.35 of Saran, Archives, Patna.

2 . Basta Nos. 112 of Patna, 473 & 583 of Saran, Archives, Patna, Also see Datta, Firmāns, pp. 126-27.

3 . Datta, Firmāns, p.31.

4 . For grants to women see Basta Nos. 77,398,680 of Shahabad, 6,26,35 of Saran and 630,631,654,668,704,742 & 884 of Muzaffarpur, Archives, Patna.

5 . Madad-i ma'āsh held by women was designated musammati see Rafat Bilgrami, Religious and Quasi Religious Departments, op.cit., p. 61.

6 . No.69, of Patna University Library.

Among the recepients of the madad-i ma'āsh grants in Bihar, there were a large number of non-Muslims as well. The earliest surviving documents in this respect is from the reign of Akbar, when 100 bīghas of land were bestowed on one Basudev Missir in pargana Chausa of Rohtas.[1] The number of the madad-i ma'āsh documents available for the period subsequent to Akbar's reign is very large, and it would not be possible to discuss each of these separately.[2] However, certain significant features which emerge from their perusal may be brought together here. It is interesting to note that a very large number of available grants given to the non-Muslims comes from the sarkār of Shahabad (or Bhojpur)[3] Besides, in spite of Aurangzeb's orders of 1672-73 for the resumption of all such grants held by the Hindus,[4] we come across a number of fresh grants and renewal of old ones after the above date.[5] The opinion of Irfan Habib that it was a 'statement of policy and not an order to be enforced

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1. Datta, Firmāns, p. 70.

2. Ibid., pp. 28,30-31,44,47-48,50,58-59,65,67,68,70, 72-74,82,85 & 129.

3. Ibid., pp. 58-59,65,67-68,70,72-74.

4. Cf. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p. 311.

5. Datta, Firmans, pp. 30,47,73-74 for fresh grants, for the renewals, pp. 30-31,59,65-68,74-75.

absolutely,"[1] is thus fully corroborated by the available madad-i ma'āsh documents from our region. Further, we notice at least three cases where a series of grants were made in favour of a single family or establishment of the Hindus. The first of such grants appear to have been given to a family of sannyāsīs and their math in village Lohiar and Mondella in pargana Majhowa of sarkār Champaran. These villages, addressed as Math Lohiar and Math Mondella, were given in 1695 to Garib Nath Sanyasi who was a disciple of Gosain Harkaran.[2] Probably, Gosain Harkaran was the first to get such a grant which was later renewed in the name of his disciple Garibnath. The same was renewed in favour of his son, Narayan Nath, in 1734 and again for the benefit of Gosain Kewal Nath in 1766-67.[3] Another set of grants was given to a family of bādfarosh or bhāt.[4] The head of the family, Mohan Badfarosh, received the grant of the villages

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1. Agrarian System, p. 311n.

2. Datta, Firmāns, p.31.

3. Ibid., pp.30-31. Such grants to a family of sanyasis are also available from Panjab see J.S.Grewal and B.N. Goswami, The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar, Simla, 1969.

4. It is difficult to find out the reason for bestowing such grants to bādfaroshs or bhāts and what functions they were supposse to perform. We hear of this caste for the first time from Badauni, who refers to Birbar, the trusted liutenant of Akbar as belonging to bādfarosh caste. (Muntakhabut-Tawārīkh, Vol.II, p.161). Ma'āsir-ul-Umara also describes Birbar as belonging to bādfarosh

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Karipati and Ballia in pargana Behia of sarkār Shahabad as madad-i ma'āsh in 1635-36 for the first time.[1] In 1678, in addition to the earlier grant, another 550 bīghas in pargana Peero of the same sarkār was given to him.[2] His sons, Dukhbhajan, Murlidhar and Ramdutta jointly received in addition to that of their father's, a grant of 250 bīghas in pargana Behia.[3] This was not the only family of the ~~of the~~ bādfarosh which was so favoured. The available madad-i ma'āsh grants show that there were many other persons

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or bhāt caste and that the persons of this caste sing praises of the rich (Vol.II, p.118). Farhang-i Āsafiya defines bhāt or bādfarosh as the one who begs by making and reciting poems in praise of people (ed. Syed Ahmed Dehlavi, Delhi, 1974, Vol.I,p.425). For bhats, also see Farhang-i Ānand Raj, Tehran, 1335 (~~rotograph~~), Vol. I, p.546 and Hobson-Jobson, p.91. The census of 1872 listed this caste in almost all the regions of Bihar, and they have been noted as belonging to the Hindu caste who were bārd or genealogists. They were said to be formerly employed by the nobles or high ranking people to recite their geneologies and the deeds of ancestors at weddings and other festive occasions. In the 19th century, they were mostly cultivators (Cf. Hunter, A Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol.X), pp. 37,44,244;XII, pp.32,184,192; XIII,p.43;XV,p.57).

1. Datta, Firmāns, pp. 65,67.
2. Ibid., p. 74.
3. Ibid., pp. 65-66,68.

of the same caste who were like wise endowed with the madad-i ma'āsh grants.[1] The documents for almost all the above-stated grants to bhāts are available from the sarkār of Shahabad. Interestingly enough, the cansus of 1872 reports the highest number (7101) of persons of this caste from Shahabad.[2]

The Nānakshāhi faqīrs (followers of Guru Nanak) were another favoured section of the non-Muslim population for whose benefit a series of grants were given from time to time in the sarkārs of Saran, Shahabad, Tirhut and Hajipur.[3]

Besides the madad-i ma'āsh, there were other revenue-free grants made for certain specific purposes. For instance, there is a grant of two hundred bīghas of land made by Shahjahan in 1639 A.D. for the construction of the 'chhatri' in memory of the mother of Raja Man Singh in Baikanthpur[4]

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1. Ibid., pp. 66-68, 77.

2. Hunter, XII, pp. 184,192. In Shahabad also the majority of the bhāts were confined to the pargana of Peero where Mohan Badfarosh got his grant.

3. Datta, Firmāns, pp. 44,70,129.

4. Farmān No.40 (Old No.53) preserved in the Rajasthan Archives, Bikaner. Hunter in the 1870's described this Chhatri (for which grant was made) as a hall will 12 doors where Man Singh's mohter was cremated (see Vol.XI, p. 85).

(sūba Bihar). Some times, revenue-free grants were also given to petty officials as reward or gift for their services. The ~~qannugas~~ qānūngos seem to be the main beneficiaries in this respect because a number of grants relating to them have come down to us wherein the benefit accruing to them from these grants is quite substantial.[1] The muqaddams, too, were sometimes favoured with such grants.[2]

Apart from the grants in the form of land or cash, we come across in Bihar a unique kind of grant bestowing fishing rights on the recipients. Narain and Bhowal of pargana Kasmar in Saran complained to the Emperor Jehangir that their fishing rights in Hauz Kukrali and other nāllās were being interferred with by officials who demanded bribe from them. In 1619, the Emperor ordered exempting them from all charges. The order was accompanied by a hasb-ul hukym also.[3] Another farmān (1661) and a subsequent parwāna of the 10th regnal year of Aurangzeb's reign gave fishing rights to Manohar and Ram Kishan in Hauz Kangra and

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1. For such grants by Shahjahan, see Datta, pp. 75-76; by Aurangzeb, pp. 25-26, 121-22 and by the succeeding emperors, pp. 25-26.

2. Ibid., p. 29.

3. Basta No.503 of Saran (the farmān is mounted in a frame at present in the state archives, Patna).

other nallas of Kasmar pargana of Saran.[1] Again, fishing rights in the above-named place were given by Mohammad Shah in 1722-23 to Ram Chand and Roop Chand.[2] Some times later, Mandahna, Basu and Jhamela, the sons of Ram Chand and Roop Chand, claimed their hereditary rights of fishing in the said place and subsequently got a hasbul hukum issued by Nawab Alivardi Khan (undated) for the exemption of all dues and the continued enjoyment of these rights.[3]

A number of surviving farmāns and sanads pertaining to the madad-i ma'āsh grants given an idea of the nature and form of these grants. The farmāns usually contained a set text defining rights and privileges of the grantees. The grants were normally made in terms of definite areas expressed in bīghas measured by the gaz-i Ilāhi. Generally, the names of the pargana and sarkār were also given. The farmān made it incumbent upon the revenue officials to measure the mentioned area and demarcate its boundaries. Besides, they had to see that no alterations were made without fresh orders changing the area or place of the grant. However, there were some exceptions as in the case of a

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1 . Datta, p. 46.

2 . Ibid.

3 . Ibid.

grant of Jahangir bestowing 1000 bīghas on Syed Mohiuddin. The original grant was made in pargana Sandah of sarkār Hajipur, but Jahangir Quli Khan changed it to pargana Saraisa (sarkār Bihar). The change was accepted, and a fresh farmān was issued (1615) to this effect.[1]

Apart from stating the area of the grant, some farmāns also specified that the grantees rights extended to the produce of the trees, tanks and gardens of the area, too.[2] In atleast one case (that of a farmān of Shahjahan's reign), a grant wherein 3000 bīghas of land along with bāzārs and gardens were given away to Syed Kamaluddin, son of Syed Ashraf Imam, in pargana Andar and Bari of sarkār Saran.[3]

As regards the kind of land to be given as madad-i ma'āsh, Abul Fazl informs us that the standing rule was to give half of the area of the grant in a land already cultivated (mazrū) and the other half in culturable waste only, when the latter was not available, land under cultivation could be given but in that case one-fourth of the area of

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1. Nos. 61 & 62 Patna University Library, Patna.

2. For the farmān of Shahjahan, see Basta Nos. 176 Saran 668 and 686 of Muzaffarpur, Archives, Patna; Sanad No.87, Patna University Library; Aurangzeb's farmān hand list No.3336, Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna.

3. Basta No.176 of Saran, Archives, Patna.

the grant was to be reduced.[1] However, some grants from Bihar show that the rules were not always strictly followed and exceptions were often made. For example, a grant of Jahangir's reign, consisting of 1000 bīghas of land, carried 250 bīghas of mazru' and 750 bīghas of uftādah (culturable waste).[2] Sometimes, the whole area of the grant consisted of fallow land (uftādah) alone.[3]

The madad-i ma'āsh grants gave the grantees the right to collect land revenue and exempted him from 'all fiscal obligations' and royal demands (hugūq-i dīwāni-wa-mutālibāt-i-sultāni) as well as from the exactions and impositions of the officials. The standard list of obligations from which the grantees were exempted are to be found in a number of the madad-i ma'āsh documents from Bihar. These exemptions included māl-o-jihāt (land taxes), ikhrājāt (petty burdens imposed by officials) and Sair-Jihāt (miscellaneous transit and other taxes).[4] We list below

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1. A'in, p. 199.

2. Nos. 61 & 62 Patna University Library, Patna.

3. Basta Nos. 680 of Shahabad, 35 & 176 of Saran and 242 of Muzaffarpur, Archives, Patna.

4. No. 62, Patna University Library; Basta Nos. 654, 699 Muzaffarpur, No.176 of Saran Archives, Patna.

some such exemptions from the 17th century documents pertaining to Bihar:[1]

1. Qunalgha: a gift to the official.
2. Peshkash: offering; a fixed gift to the official.
3. Jarībānā: a levy on survey of land.
4. Zabitānā: a fee of the surveyar.
5. Muhrāna: official's and qazi's fee for affixing seal (muhr) on documents.
6. Dāroghāna: Levy by Dārogha or government official.
7. Muhsillāna: perqusites of the agents of revenue collectors.
8. Do-nīm-muqaddamī: 'The 2 1/2 per cent' share of the village headmen in revenue.
9. Sad-doeqānūngoʻī: The 2% share in the revenue claimed by the qānūngo.
10. Takrār-i zirā'at: Not clear, either meaning insistence that land should be culbivated, or quite possibly insistence that it may not be cultivated without permission so that revenue paying land might not lose its cultivator when grants were made.

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1. Farmāns in basta nos. 176 (1631 A.D.) of Saran and nos. 654 (1631),694 (1654),699(1695) and 668 (1717) of Muzaffarpur in Archives Patna, and No.62 of Patna University Library

11. Begār: . 'forced labour', employing without remuneration.

12. Shikār: right of hunting on grantees land.

But the madad-i ma'āsh holders were not totally exempt from all imposts, One such impost was known as muqarrari-i ḍimma, which the holders of grants were supposed to pay to the jāgīrdār. This was later prohibited by Aurangzeb.[1] Besides, they had to pay the zamīndār's claim on the produce called haqq-i-milkiyat.[2] Though the grants gave the grantees the right to collect land revenue, and also secured them immunity from all taxes, they were strictly non-proprietary in nature because these could be reduced, resumed or transferred.[3] Besides, it was incumbent upon the grantee to apply for the renewal of the grant at the accession of a new sovereign.[4] Numerous grants are available over long period of time which were renewed by the successive emperors. A grant of 50 bīghas of land in pargana Masoodah (sarkār Bihar) was originally granted by Shahjahan to Shaikh Shahbaz in 1645, the same grant to him

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1 . Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p. 299.

2 . Ibid., p. 301.

3 . Ibid., pp. 300-301.

4 . Basta Nos. 635 & 654 of Muzzafarpur, Archives, Patna.

and later to his descendants was continued till 1764 (Shah Alam II)[1]. Another grant of 100 bīghas continued from Shahjahan's time (1643) to that of Farrukh Siyar (1716)[2]. Yet another grant of 20 bīghas granted by Jahangir (1617) continued till 1673 after renewals[3].

Some of the madad-i ma'āsh documents throw valuable light on the important aspect of inheritance of these grants. For instance, in some cases the text contained the additional specification ba-farzandān (along with the offsprings). In such cases, the grant could pass on to the heirs of the deceased grantee without the necessity of renewal[4]. Other grants, which did not carry this specification, could also be inherited, but only after obtaining renewal from the Emperor. However, in either case, the principle of inheritance was totally guided by the rules laid down by the state. A number of documents showing the shares of heirs are available but it is difficult to ascertain

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1. Datta, Nos. 11 to 16, pp. 22-23.

2. Ibid., p. 70.

3. Ibid., pp. 110-11.

4. Basta nos. 668 & 694 of Muzaffarpur, 680 of Shahabad Archives, Patna; No.61 Patna University Library. Also see Datta, pp. 57,63,66,125.

the ratio of different heirs because these documents do not specify their relationships with the deceased. The shares were enjoyed even by the grantee's grand children.[1]

During Akbar and Jahangir's time, there seems to have existed no regular provisions, but normally the practice was to renew the grant if the heirs applied for it to strengthen their claim.[2] According to Irfan Habib, during this period, normally only a part of the original grant was renewed,[3] but there are some evidences to show that often the grant in its entirety was bestowed on the heir of the deceased: such was the case of Bibi Sharifa and Bibi Fatima to whom the original grant, of 400 bīghas of land (originally given to their ancestors Abdus Samad and Shaikh Muhammad by Jahangir in 1623) in pargana Haveli Hajipur, was renewed.[4] At another time, during the reign of Jahangir, we find that only half or sometimes even less than that was renewed for the heirs.[5] Shahjahan in the 5th

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1. Bhagalpur documents (transcribed copies at the Department of History, AMU).

2. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p.305.

3. Ibid.

4. No.242 of Muzaffarpur, Archives, Patna.

5. In 1617 Only 30 bīghas were granted to the heirs of Baga Khan Kooch Rehman Beg who held 60 bīghas (Datta, p.111). In yet another case, where a holder of 3500 bīghas died, only 1000 bīghas were renewed: 700 to the widow and 300 to the son presented at the court. No decision was taken concerning the other son who till

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regnal year of his reign, ordered that all grants of less than 30 bīghas of land were to be divided among the heirs, and in case of larger grants only, half of the original area was to be inherited, the rest being resumed unless the heirs represented and proved their needs.[1] In the 18th regnal year he issued fresh orders saying that if the grants carried additional specification ba-farzandān only then half was to be given, otherwise the whole grant was to be resumed.[2] But this order does not seem to have been strictly adhered to because we come across a grant of Shahjahan's reign (1654) which shows that, after the death of the grantee in pargana Haveli Hajipur, in accordance with the earlier order of the emperor, half of the grant was resumed by the officials but the emperor himself ordered the release of the other half as well.[3] Aurangzeb in the beginning did not follow this condition, but in the 3rd regnal year he adopted the regulations as laid down in the

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than had made no representation (see S.Hasan Askari, Documents relating to an old Family of Sufi Saints of Bihar', IHRC, XXVI, pt.II, pp. 1-7).

1. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p. 305.

2. Ibid.

3. No.694 of Muzaffarpur, Archives, Patna.

orders of the 5th regnal year of Shahjahan, but the limit was reduced to 20 bīghas instead of 30.[1] In one case in the pargana of Saraisa of sarkār Hajipur, in 1678, the heirs of Mulla Zia were allowed to retain the whole grant.[2] In the 34th, regnal year (1690), Aurangzeb issued orders that all grants were to be made hereditary, but with the stipulation that imperial orders alone were to be followed in matters of inheritance and not the Islamic law of inheritance.[3] The available grants from Bihar after 1690 fully corroborate the hereditary nature of the grants in the subsequent period.[4]

It appears from the foregoing account that the rules framed from time to time for renewing and inheriting the grants were to be followed in general by the revenue and other administrative officials. The king was always free to amend rules or make exceptions in individual cases.

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1. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, pp. 305-06.
2. Datta, p. 125.
3. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p. 306.
4. No. 673 (1695 A.D.) of Muzaffarpur, Archives, Patna, Also see Datta, p.61.

CHAPTER VIII

NON AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

(Craft and Industries)

(1) Textiles

Of all the crafts that thrived in Bihar, the art of spinning and weaving was the most extensive one. We have already shown that certain regions were particularly favourable for cotton cultivation, therefore, numerous centres for textile industry grew up in the sūba. Our records give much importance to trade in textiles in this region.[1] Though textiles production was pursued apparently on a professional basis almost every where in Bihar, the natural home of the industry was in Patna[2] and many small towns around it; specially in the sarkār of Bihar, where the raw material was produced in abundance. Other centres of textile production in Bihar were Lakhawar[3],

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1. For the textile production before the sixteenth century, see A. Rashid, 'Industry and Industrial Workers' in Medieval India (1200-1526)', JBRS, Vol. LIV, part 1-4, 1968, pp. 245-48. Also see R.K. Chaudhary, Mithila in the Age of Vidyapati, op.cit, pp.197-98. For the period under review, see R. Fitch, Early Travels, ed. Foster, p. 24; Mundy,II, pp. 154-55; Manucci, II, pp. 83-84; Sujan Rai, p.38.

2. Cf. Fitch, op.cit, p.24. Also Manucci, II, pp.83-84.

3. English Factories (henceforth EF), 1618-21, p.213; Mundy, II, pp. 154-55; Levon Khachikian, 'The Ledger of Merchant Hovhannes Joughayetsi' Journal of the Asiatic Society, Vol. VIII, no. 3, 1966, pp. 163-66.

Nandanpur, Selimpur and Baikanthpur[1].

Cotton Fabrics

Of the textile goods manufactured in Bihar, cotton fabrics of diverse varieties constituted the bulk of the produce. Broadly speaking, cotton goods were of two sorts: cloth woven with only cotton yarn and cloth woven with both silk and cotton yarn. We list below the various types of the above two categories:

(1) Ambartees : It was a superior grade of white calico cloth woven in Patna and around it. It was much in demand by the English Company in the first half of the 17th century, and c continued so till the end of the century.[2] Lakhawar was the main centre for ambartee production.[3] The goods produced here were considered by the English factors to be better than the calicoes of Samana (Semianas) and Gujarat (Bāftas). The former were expected to have a wide market in England.[4] Ambartee calicoes were of three kinds.[5] The first was of narrow breadth and was called rasseys. This was generally coarse and had a breadth, of 1/2 yard and a length of 13 yards. The second kind

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1. Mundy, II, pp. 154-55.

2. Hovhannes purchased several varieties of this fabric during 1688-93, see The Ledger of Hovhannes, op. cit., pp. 160-61.

3. EF, 1618-21, p.213.

4. See R.C. Temple, 'Documents Relating to the First English Commercial Mission to Patna, 1620-21', IA, 1914, Vol. 43, p.98 (henceforth IA, 1914).

5. EF, 1618-21, p.213.

was known as zefferconyes (zafarkhani). This was almost one-forth broader than the former, and of a finer quality. The third type called 'Jehangeree', was the broadest (equal to a full English yard) and the finest in quality available in the area. The only defect found in these calicoes by the European merchants was that they were not sufficiently broad[1] to suit the buyers in Europe; therefore, they repeatedly asked the weavers to prepare the broadest possible.[2] Ambartees were also called Lakhawries, a name representing the place of manufacture.[3] Unfurnished cloth, that is, without starch, known as 'camsukha' was also produced at Lakhawar.[4] Hovhannes refers to 'Baragaza', a sort of cotton cloth produced in Lakhawar and elsewhere in Bihar.[5] Caymconye (Qaimkhani) was a sort of plain cotton piece-good woven near and around Patna and was much in demand for Persia. The East India Company shipped these to London, and later re-exported to North Africa and Turkey.[6]

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1. E.F., 1618-21, p.213.
2. IA, 1914, p.79.
3. 'The Ledger of Hovhannes' op.cit, pp. 163-66. Also see John Irwin, 'A Glossary of Textiles', Studies in Indo-European Textile History, p.67.
4. E.F., 1618-21, p.200.
5. Ledger of Hovhannes, p. 163.
6. EF, 1618-21, pp. 195, 206. Also see John Irwin, 'Glossary of Textiles', op. cit, p.60.

(3) Cassa (Khasa): A type of muslin produced in Bihar.[1] It was also termed as Biharikhasa and was very expensive.[2]

The other varieties of cotton cloths available in Bihar were white cheera, Bāfta, sahans and hammomes, but it is difficult to find out whether these were produced in Bihar or not.[3] Another cotton fabric available in Patna and Shahzadpur (Allahabad) was 'Palankposh' (Palangposh), which according to Hovhannes, was used for wrapping loads of goods.[4]

(4) Charconees (charkhani): Chequered cloth of mixed silk and cotton yarn was woven in the eastern region. Though available in Patna, it was mostly produced in Orissa.[5]

In the last decade of the 17th century, yet another variety of cotton cloth called chintz or cotton paintings of

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1. F. Pelsaert, Jehangir's India, tr. Moreland and Geyl, p.9.
2. Ledger of Hovhannes, p. 64. Abul Fazl also refers khasa as the most expensive cotton cloth, Ain, p. 108.
3. EF, 1618-21, p. 193; Hovhannes Ledger, p. 161, 163. Cheera was a sort of turban cloth (see Irfan Habib, Atlas, p.69).
4. The Ledger of Hovhannes, p. 166, 168. However, its proper use was as bedspread and quilts (see Irfan Habib, Atlas, p. 70).
5. Mundy, II, p.155.

Patna was purchased for export by the English Company. This was inferior in quality to the chintz of western India or Coromandel coast. But during this period, the demand for all types of chintz was at its peak; hence, the Patna chintz also gained in importance. The latter was of very bright and lively colours.[1]

The manufacture of cloth fabrics involved a number of steps. The first was ginning, that is, separating seeds from cotton. Later, the carders (dhuniyas) cleaned cotton with the bow-string. Next, yarn was spun on the spinning wheel which was brought to India by the Turks in the 14th century and had become quite common by the seventeenth century.[2] The weavers worked on horizontal loom armed with foot treadles to control the shedding mechanism.[3] Each loom required two persons - sometimes a man and a woman - the latter to wind and to assist in warping.[4]

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1. John Irwin, 'Indian Textile Trade in the Seventeenth Century', JITH, No. III, 1957, pp.60-61. The chapla purchased by Hovhannes was probably a kind of chintz (The Ledger, p. 165) as the chintz were also called chapka, see Irfan Habib, Atlas, p. 69.

2. Irfan Habib, 'Technological changes and society, 13th and 14th centuries', Presidential Address, Medieval Indian Section, 31st Session of Indian History Congress, PIHC, 1969, pp. 145-47.

3. Irfan Habib, 'Indian Textile Industry in the 17th century', Essays in Honour of Professor S.C. Sarkar, p. 182.

4. Eastern India, I, p. 353.

The art of dyeing and bleaching, an essential part of cloth manufacture, had become an especialized job. The cloth merchants generally took the brown raw cloth directly from looms and then it was given for bleaching and dyeing which was done by a separate group of artisans.[1] In Bihar, they were known as Kundigars[2]. The English factors found the cheapest course in taking the cloth raw from weavers and bleaching it afterwards themselves.[3] The bleaching involved boiling of the cloth in a especial solution. Next, the cloth was washed and dried in the sun. For bleaching, water of especial quality was required. The bleaching of coarse cloth was done by striking it against the stones. Fine fabrics were left to soak.[4] The bleachers usually detained the cloth for three months. Their charges ranged from 2½ to 3½ rupees per corge according to fineness and breadth.[5]

Chintz or cotton paintings were made by a different class of artisans who worked for the merchants, but the chemicals and colours were their own.[6]

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1. EF, 1618-21, p.192; IA, 1914, pp. 100, 110.
2. EI, I, p.356.
3. EF, 1618-21, p. 213.
4. Cf. A.I. Chicherov, Economic Development in the 16th-18th centuries, Moscow, 1971, pp. 67-68.
5. EF, 1618-21, p. 192; IA, 1914, p. 80.
6. EI, I, p.357.

It is very difficult to have an exact estimate of the quantity of the cotton cloth produced in the absence of relevant records, but we can draw a rough estimate from the figures mentioned in the English factory records. Hughes in 1620 wrote from Patna that twenty thousand pieces may be provided annually.[1] This quantity was for the English factory, which, in fact, purchased a small amount of the total produce and that, too, of ambartee calicoes only. About the production at Lakhawar, Hughes states that around one thousand pieces were taken daily from the looms.[2] The season lasted for 3 or 4 months; thus the annual production of ambartee would have been 90,000 to 1,20,000 pieces. It may be assumed that the total production of cotton was enough to provide large quantity for exports after furnishing local needs.

Silk Fabrics

Bihar has a long history of silk industry. Amir Khusrau (14th century) is said to have spoken very high of the silk of Bihar.[3] The silk industry received an impetus in the Mughal period. During the 17th century, Patna became an important centre of silk production in addition to Ahmadabad

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1. EF, 1618-21, p. 205.
2. Ibid., p. 198.
3. Cf. A. Rashid, 'Industry and Industrial Workers & Cø ', op.cit., pp. 246-47.

and Kashmir.[1] The English and Dutch both had their factories at Patna[2]. The correspondance of Hughes and Parker in 1620-21 throws such light on this sector. Bengal was one of the main regions for sericulture in India, but we do not have evidence to show that it was practiced in Bihar in the 17th century. Silk in the form of cocoons, known as serabandy, was brought to Patna from Bengal (especially from Maqsudabad where it was much cheaper), and winding was done there.[3] Silk winders did it on their own, but the English factors found it profitable to organise winding under their own direct supervision.[4] Here, for the first time we come across a manufactory run by the English factors for winding the silk in 1620 at Patna, probably the first of its kind in the region. To begin with, Hughes, in 1620, started the kārkhāna (manufactory) with thirty men to wind the silk and then gradually the number of workmen was increased. Hughes in his letter of 3rd September, 1620, wrote to Agra: "I have increased my corconna to almost a hundred workmen; but here I will stop untill I hear further from Surat".[5]

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1. For a detailed account, see J.N. Thakur, 'Silk Industry in Bihar', JBRS, vol. 58, 1972, pt. 1-4, pp. 285-313. Also see Jagdish Narain Sarkar, 'The Silk Trade of Patna in Early 17th Century', Studies in Economic Life in Mughal India, pp. 20-37.

2. Cf. A. Hamilton, p. 414.

3. EF, 1618-21, pp. 229-30; IA, 1914, pp.73-74.

4. EF, 1618-21, pp. 197-98.

5. EF, 1618-21, pp. 198.

Silk was wound into seven different sorts, each of different prices. Hughes purchased one maund of serbandy for trial and had it wound into seven sorts of skeins. Four of these (second, third, fourth and fifth) were priced at Rs. 4-40 (net) the ser (of 34½ pice weight), including all charges of winding (from 5 as to 6 as a ser); of the other three, the first could be sold in ready money at Rs.4-9-0, the sixth at Rs.1-8-0, and the seventh at Rs.0-14-6 a ser.[1] The three main types of wound silk were shekasty, cattaway and gird. The shekasty was broken irregular threads, cattaway imperfectly discoloured and gird of even quality.[2] From an account of 1661, written by Mr Kenns, we learn that silk was wound into three sorts, known as 'head', 'belly' and 'foot'. The first two sorts in the proportion of five were called 'putta' or of short skein. The second kind of silk was known as "puttany". It was the superfine sort of skeins. There was also a third kind called 'dolleria', a name given to the sort of silk in which 'head', 'belly' and 'foot' were all mixed.[3]

It is difficult to ascertain the exact quantity of wound silk produced in Bihar. By one estimate in 1626, Patna

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1. IA, 1914, pp. 73-74. Also see, Jagdish Narain Sarkar, op.cit., pp. 20-37.

2. EF, 1618-21, p. 198; IA, 1914, p. 74 & n.

3. Cf. Balkrishna, Commercial Relations between India and England, p. 143.

anually yielded 1000 to 2000 maunds of silk.[1] It seems the second half of the 17th century, more precisely after 1680.[2]

The silk cloth woven at Patna was known as Tuckrees.[3] The striped silk piece-goods woven at Baikanthpur (near Patna) were known as Baikanthpuries.[4] Hughes called them Baikanthpur Elachas[5]. Hovhannes (1682-93) refers to this silk as 'alaja', he also mentions several varieties of alajas such as 'chukha', 'timgayi', 'kham', and 'charkhana'.[6] Mundy says that the piece goods were four coveds long and 7/8 broad.[7] Hughes noted that these goods were generally purchased by the 'Moguls' for Persia. He hoped that this fabric might sell well in England also if procured at lower rates.[8] The industry probably declined during the 18th century. Buchanan in 1810-11 found Baikanthpur full of weavers but the place was in the state of decay.[9]

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1. Pelsaert, op. cit., p. 7. According to Moreland, this silk came from Bengal. Actually from Bengal silk in the form of coccoons was brought to Patna which was supplied to other regions after winding at Patna. Pelsaert was right in mentioning it 'silk from Patna'.

2. S.A. Khan, East India Trade in the 17th century, p. 161.

3. Mundy, II, pp. 150-51.

4. Ibid, p. 155.

5. EF, 1618-21, p. 197, Ain, p. 108 Abul Fazl mentions 'Alaicha'.

6. The Ledger, pp. 161-62, 163-66.

7. Mundy, II, p. 155.
8. IA, 1914, pp. 73-74.
9. EI, I, p. 44.

Another silk cloth manufactured in Bihar was taffeta.[1] The taffeta made in Bihar was considered better than that of Qasimbazar. A list (1661-65) of commodities procurable at Patna mentions: "There are better Taffeties made at Patna than Cassumbazar".[2]

The dyeing of silk in several colours, pale blue, crimson which was dyed in lac, and all the other colours which are garāri (fast in grain), was also done.[3] Hughes also started dyeing and dressing some coarse silk into sleeve (floss) silk, which was used for embroidery in England.[4]

Carpet Weaving

Carpet weaving was yet another branch of textile production in Bihar. During the 17th century, Bihar produced good quality of qālins. In the district of Gaya at Obra, Karaipur and Daudnagar, the industry was introduced by Nawab Daud Khan in the latter part of the 17th century.[5] The manufacturers brought from Delhi, Agra and Mirzapur were the descendants

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1. Abul Fazl includes 'tafta' in his list of silk cloths, Āīn, I, p. 108.
2. Wilson, p. 379.
3. IA, 1914, p. 78.
4. Ibid., p. 74.
5. Cf. N.G. Mukherji, A Monograph on Carpet Weaving in Bengal, p.1.

of the Persian artisans engaged in this profession for a long time.[1] In Patna, quarters like Sultanganj, Pirhahar and Chauk were the main centres of carpet weaving till the 19th century.[2]

Metals and Metallurgy

The Indian village community was made up, among other artisans, of blacksmiths. The essential tools of agriculture, the ploughshares, hoes, axes, etc. were manufactured in the rural areas. On the other hand, there was a distinct group of urban blacksmiths who specialised in high quality articles for the local market, such as spades, swords, guns etc.

Bihar at present is very rich in iron ore but there is no mention of the availability of it in the account of the sūba in the Ā'īn. The accounts of the 19th century refers to the presence of iron ore in the vicinity of Ramgarh, Rajgir, Barbar[3] and the hills of Bhagalpur.[4] During this period (19th century) in a number of parganas of Bhagalpur, the tribals Korah, Nyah

1. Cf. N.G. Mukherji, A Monograph on Carpet Weaving in Bengal, pp. 1-2.
2. Imperial Gazetteer, XX, p. 61.
3. Martin, Eastern India, I, pp. 251-61, 263-64.
4. Ibid, II, pp. 175-76, 190-91.

and Santhals collected iron stones from the jungles and smelted them.[1] By the end of 18th and early 19th century, there were families of founders who obtained iron of a low quality in shall furnaces by primitive methods which was bought by the merchants and sold to the blacksmiths.[2] Perhaps these aborginals supplied iron to the merchants in the 17th century also, because we find that iron ~~was~~ from Bihar was one of the items of export to Bhutan in the second half of the 17th century.[3]

In 1624, at the time of the rebellion of Prince Khurram, huge quantities of iron and lead were supplied from Rajmahal, to be used in war at Patna.[4] Probably the hills of Rajmahal on the border of Bihar were the source of this supply. The Tawārīkh-i- Ujjainiya also refers to the manufacture of good quality iron weapons in the Ujjainiya Raj (region of Shahabad) at the end of the 16th century.[5]

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1. K.K. Başu, 'Some Old Accounts of Bhagalpur', JBORS, Vol. XXI, pt. III, 1935, pp. 139-90.
2. Eastern India, I, pp. 261-64; II, pp. 190-92.
3. Wilson, Early Annals of English in Bengal, I, p. 379.
4. B.P. Ambashthya, 'Rebellion of Salim and Khurram', JBRS, Vol. 45, pt. 1-4, 1959, p. 337.
5. Binayak Prasad, Tawarikh-i Ujjainiya, II, p. 18.

In the mid-18th century, we find references to the manufacture of high quality guns at Munger.[1] The famous Armenian general of Mir Qasim, Gurgin Khan, built a gun factory at Munger[2]. The fire-locks manufactured here were better than the best tower-proofs sent to India from England for the English Company's use.[3] From that time onwards, the place became famous for all types of guns.[4] It is very difficult to say whether this industry existed in the 17th century Munger or not. The account of Bitshop Heber (1824) suggests that it had a long history. Heber writes about the iron industry of Munger.[5]

> "I was surprised at the neatness of the kettles, tea trays, guns, pistols, toastling forks, cutlery and other things of the sort, which may be procured in this tiny Birmingham. I found after wards that this place had been from very early

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1. Cf. K.K. Dutta, Studies in the History of the Bengal Subah, 1740-70, I, Calcutta, 1936, p. 431.
2. Q. Ahmad, Inscriptions, op. cit., p. 220.
3. Datta, Bengal Subah, I, op. cit., pp. 431-32.
4. Eastern India, II, pp. 265-66.
5. R. Heber, Journey Through the Upper Provinces of India, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 132.

> antiquity celebrated for its smiths who derived their art from the Hindoo Vulcan, who had been solemnly worshipped, and was supposed to have had a workshop here. The only thing which appears to be wanting to make their steel excellent, is a better manner of smelting, and more liberal use of charcoal and hammer."

It seems that the industry died out towards the end of the 19th century.[1] Marshall in 1670-71 mention the 'blewing' of iron weapons by the natives. The process was as follows:[2]

> "They first make them very bright, then ly them in hot straw ashes such as a man can only endure to clap his hand upon, then let them ly covered with those ashes thin, with ashes under them, for about 2 minutes of an houre; then take them out if blow, and they will remain so".

There were no silver mines in India. As regards gold, Fitch (1584) has given a description of obtaining it from river bed in Patna:[3]

1. T.N. Mukherjee, Art Manufactures of India, reprint, Delhi, 1974, p. 218.
2. Marshall, p. 429.
3. Fitch, p. 23.

> "Here at Patanaw they finde gold in this manner, they digge deeps pits in the earth and washe the earth in great bolles, and therein they finde the gold and they make the pits round about with bricks, that of earth fall not in".

Fitch was amazed to see large number of ornaments worn by the women in Bihar.[1] The number of goldsmiths would have been quite large due to large scale use of ornaments even in the smallest of villages. Usually the same craftsmen dealt in both silver and gold.[2] By one estimate, the number of goldsmiths (1810-11) in the district of Patna and Shahabad was 2293 and 840 respectively.[3]

(iii) Minerals

Saltpetre

Saltpetre was the most important mineral of Bihar. Saltpetre or Potassium nitrate is a natural formation in the

1. Ibid. "Here the women be so decked with silver and copper that it is strange to see; they use no shoes by reason of the rings of silver and copper which they wear on their toes". More than 200 years later Buchanan also noticed "In Patna, Gaya, Daudnagar, Behar and Bar a large proportion of the women is completely bedecked with the precious metals". see Bihar & Patna, I, pp. 280-81.

2. Cf. Buchanan, Bihar and Patna, II, p. 641 "Gold and silversmiths are called sonar, and the sonar forms a regular part of manorial establishment".

3. EI, I, (Appendix), pp. 37, 53.

soils of the north Bihar. The thickly populated agricultural province of Bihar with its alternating warm and humid climate offers the most favourable conditions for the accumulation of this salt in the sub-soil. The large quantities of animal and vegetable refuse gathered round the agricultural villages of Bihar, decompose into ammonia and other nitrogenous substances which are acted upon by certain kinds of bacteria (nitrifying bacteria) in the damp hot weather, with the result that at first nitrous and nitric acid is produced in the soil. This nitric acid acts upon the salts of potassium with which the soil of the villages is impregnated on account of large quantities of wood and dung ashes constantly being heaped by villagers around their habitations. The potassium thus produced is dissolved by rain water and accumulates in the sub-soil, from which salt reascends to the surface by capillary action in the period of desiccation following the rainy weather.

Bihar, as the largest producer and supplier of saltpetre in India, came into prominance only in the second half of the 17th century.[1] As an essential ingredient in the manufacture of gun-powder, saltpetre was in great demand in the European markets. There was also a demand for saltpetre for manufacturing glass wares and animal dyes in Europe and

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1. EF, 1646-50, pp. 232-33; Tavernier, II, p.12; Manucci,II, p.84.

India[1]. We get references to the use of saltpetre as an ingredient for gunpowder, and watercooling purposes in India.[2]

Raw saltpetre was a sort of saline earth and could not be used for any purpose except after refining. There is no contemporary account of the method of refining it in the Bihar province. The method generally used and given in the Ā'īn[3] is not a detailed one, but the method given by Pelsaert for Agra[4] and Thevenot for Ajmer[5] may be applicable to Bihar also. The stray references in the contemporary records about refining in Bihar region suggest that the process was the same as recorded by Pelsaert and Thevenot.

Pelsaert writes:[6]

> "Two shallow reservoirs like salt-pans are made on the ground, one much larger than the other. The larger is filled with the salt earth and flooded with water from channel in

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1. Watt, The Commercial Products of India, p. 974.
2. Ā'īn, p. 51; Thevenot, p. 148; Marshall, pp. 428-29.
3. Ā'īn, p. 51.
4. Pelsaert, p.46.
5. Thevenot, p.74.
6. See Pelsaert, p.46; Thevenot,p.76. The first detailed account about its refining in Bihar is given by Buchanan (1810-11). The process very much resembles with the one given by Pelsaert and Thevenot. Copper pans even in the 19th century were used by the English manufacturers only (Cf. EI, I, pp.362-65; Ibid., II, pp.278-80).

> the ground. The earth is then thoroughly pulverised and forms a thin paste; then it is allowed to stand for two days so that the water may absorb all the substance. The water then is run off by a large outlet into the other reservoir where a deposit settles, which is crude saltpetre. This is evaporated in iron pans once or twice according to the degree of whiteness and purity desired, being skimmed continuously untill scarcely any impurities rise. It is then placed in large earthen jars, holding 25 to 30 lbs, crust forms in the dew during the night; and if any impurities are still left, they sink to the bottom, the pots are then broken, and the saltpetre dried in the sun".

European merchants emphasised on exporting refined saltpetre because the rate of freight were the same for both. The refining was usually done by the Indian method of evaporation in which earthen pans were used, while copper and iron pans were used by the Europeans only. The English factors in 1652 reported to the Company that 200 earthen pans broke in refining 600 bags of saltpetre which was very troublesome and caused delay, and that they had asked the Surat factors to send the pans which were sent to Assada in Medagaskar for

refining sugar.[1] It seems that the Dutch had also faced the same difficulty but had overcome it and were well furnished with all equipments.[2] Tavernier (1665-66) found the Dutch using boilers imported from Holland for refining the commodity at Chapra.[3] Whey was used in the boiling which made saltpetre very white and transparent.[4]

Usually, the raw earth provided refined equal to half of its weight. On one occasion the earth sent by Mr Charnock was considered very good as it provided 500 maunds of refined saltpetre from 700 maunds of earth.[5]

Besides, the raw saltpetre, there were two types of refined saltpetre: the one called dobara-cabessa or culmy, the other twice boiled or dobara.[6] The former was considered inferior in quality and the later the best sort. The refining was generally carried on by the peasants. In Bihar they were called nooneahs.[7]

1. EF, 1651-54, p.95. Also see Moreland, From Akbar to Aurangzeb London, 1923, p.122. In the Indian method of refining, earthen pans called Kothi, Khara or Ahri were used all over Bihar even during the 19th century Cf. Grierson, Bihar Peasant Life, pp. 76-77, 136.
2. EF, 1651-54, p.95. The Dutch as early as 1640-41 set up a refinery at Pipli with copper kettles imported from Holland (Cf. Tapan Raychaudhuri, Jan Company in Coromandel, p.169).
3. Tavernier, II, p.12.
4. Ibid., p.12.
5. W. Hedges, The Diary, I, p.87.
6. EF, 1665-67, p.139. See Bhattacharya, East India Company and the Economy of Bengal, London, 1954, p.152. Also S. Chaudhuri, Trade and Commercial Organisation in Bengal, p.162.

contd.../

There is no information regarding the cost of refining saltpetre in Bihar. In Bengal the cost was nominal, being only 3/4th of an ānna per maund.[1] Bhattacharya, however, gives the cost of refining as 9 pice per maund.[2]

Centres of saltpetre production were located throughout Bihar. Its refining and storage by the English and Dutch Companies was done at a few places.[3] A Dutch report of 1688 lists all the places producing saltpetre giving the name of the parganas, the officials who owned or administered it and the annual output[4] (see map I and chart). Patna was the main centre of saltpetre refining: both the English and Dutch had factories near about there.[5] The Dutch had a refinery at

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f.n. from prev. page

7. Imperial Gazetteer, Vol.XVIII, p.100. EI, II, p.280. Also see, H.R. Ghoshal, 'Tirhut at the end of the Eighteenth and the beginning of the Nineteenth century', JBRS, 1953, Vol. 39, pt.IV, p.376.

1. S. Chaudhuri, op. cit., p.163.
2. Bhattacharya, op. cit., p.152.
3. Cf. J.N. Sarkar, Studies in Economic Life in Mughal India, pp. 76-78.
4. Cf. S. Chaudhuri, pp.269-71. A number of places given in this list also figure in Buchanan (1811-12) as saltpetre producing areas. His list includes Besara, Gadasanga, Bhatsala, Jaruya, Partoul, Loi, Rati, Chhapra, Maker, Gaya, Sangrampur, Marahal, Barui, Dangsi and Barel in the districts of Saran and Tirhat (Bihar & Patna, II, pp. 668-69).
5. Manucci, II, p.84; EF, 1668-69, pp.312-13; W. Hedges, Diary, I, p.87. Bowrey, pp. 223-25. Hamilton, op.cit., p.414.

Chapra.[1] Too much of administrative interference by the State officials compelled the English to have another factory at Singhee for refining and storing saltpetre.[2] (the factory was at Jahanabad, 1/2 course from Singhiya). The English had one warehouse at Hajipur and another at Nangarh.[3] Fatwa also became a centre of refining in the early 18th century.[4]

It is very difficult to assess the total saltpetre production of the sūba, as there were many agencies purchasing the commodity, the main among them were the Mughal State, the Dutch and the English Companies. An idea, however, may be formed by the purchases at different times by the English and Dutch factories. The Dutch, till 1652, were annually exporting 2000 tonnes of saltpetre, while the English exports till the year 1664 were 18,000 maunds per annum and they were capable of providing 25 or 30,000 maunds if funds were made available.[5]

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1. Tavernier, II, p.12.

2. Marshall, pp.23, 78. The Diaries of Streynsham Master, II, pp. 89-90. Singhiya with one manufactory at Mow in Tirhut was operating till nineteenth century, Ghoshal, op.cit., pp.374-75.

3. Marshall, pp.23-24, 158-59. EF, 1661-64, p.287. Master, II, pp.89-90.

4. EF, 1651-54, p.95.

5. EF, 1661-64, p.395.

The English factors in 1665 wrote that if funds were supplied they could procure 1000 tonnes yearly.[1] In 1679, 29,890 maunds of saltpetre was sent from Patna to Hugli in a single fleet of 31 bosts.[2] In 1682, the English factory's demand at Patna was for 1,500 tonnes of saltpetre.[3] The most exhaustive figures of total production for the year 1688 comes from the Dutch records which say that the total output was 2,26,200 maunds (raw), and when refined, the figures stood at 127,238 maunds.[4] This shows that Bihar was perhaps the largest saltpetre producing centre in India.

The most important use of saltpetre was in the making of gunpowder. There is no positive evidence to show the manufacture of gunpowder in Bihar during the early 17th century, though the saltpetre procured from Bihar was considered best for making gunpowder.[5] Thevenot noted that the saltpetre brought from Bengal was used for manufacturing gunpowder at Pulicat.[6] The Dutch records of 1688 say that out of the total production of 127,238 mds. of saltpetre, 7000 maunds was

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1. EF, 1665-67, p.139.
2. S. Master, I, p.109.
3. S. Chaudhuri, p. 263.
4. Cf. Ibid., p.161 and 269-71. During the last quarter of the 18th century saltpetre production in the sarkars of Hajipur and Saran was estimated around two lakh maunds per year see British Parliamentary Papers, III, p.418.
5. Ibid., p.161. Also see Bhattacharya, op.cit., p.149.
6. This saltpetre was probably taken from Bihar. Thevenot,p.148.

Saltpetre production in Bengal *suba* in 1688.

S.NO.	Name of *Pargana*	Distance and Direction from Patna	Circumference	Owned or administered by	Quantity produced per annum
1.	'Bahaar'	10 kos south	96 kos	A *faujdār* on behalf of the king	5,000 mds.
2.	'Gooaspour'	4 " east south-east	140 "	*Jāgīr* of Asad Khan administered by a *faujdār* on his behalf	5,000 "
3.	'Terruwa'	2 " north north-east	35 "	*Nawāb* of Patna, a *faujdār* on his behalf	10,000 "
4.	'Casmer'	2 " north north-west	45 "	*Jāgīr* of a *mansabdār* of 150 horses	3,000 "
5.	'Bissara'	5 " north	150 "	*Jāgīr* of Asad Khan, a *faujdār* on his behalf	40,000 "
6.	'Mackeer'	4½ " north north-west	20 "	Some small *mansabdārs*	15,000 "
7.	'Retty'	8 " north north-west	40 "	*Jāgīr* of 15 or 20 *mansabdārs*	12,000 "
8.	'Monneer'	6 " west north-west	35	A *karorī* on king's behalf	2,000 "
9.	'Sirant'	12 " north-west	7 or 8 "	A *karorī* on king's behalf	4,000 "
10.	'Goa'	13 " north-west	42 "	Ekram Khan *Nawāb* of Orissa, a *faujdār* on his behalf	14,000 "
11.	'Raat'	16½ " north-west	55 "	*Nawāb* of Orissa	14,000 "
12.	'Mancy'	15 " west north-west	5 to 6"	A *karorī* on king's behalf	10,000 "
13.	'Ara'	11½ " west north-west	30 "	A *mansabdār* of 500 horses	2,000 "
14.	'Sereesa'	12½ " north-east	29 "	*Jāgīr* of Shaista Khan, a *faujdār* on his behalf	15,000 "
15.	'Melky'	22½ " east	16 "	A *karorī* on behalf of some small *mansabdār*.	10,000 "

16.	'Neyarpour'	24	kos	east	4	kos	A karorī on king's behalf	2,000	mds.
17.	'Marwa'	22	"	north	6½	"	A jāgīr of faujdār Ispandar Khan	4,000	mds.
18.	'Mesay'	27	"	north	160	"	A karorī on king's behalf	5,000	mds.
19.	'Bobbra'	30	"	north	11	"	Jāgīr of a mansabdār	5,000	mds.
20.	'Barry'	27	"	north-west	25	"	A karorī on king's behalf	10,000	mds.
21.	'Bossary'	35	"	east north-west	15	"	Jāgīr of a mansabdar	4,000	mds.
22.	'Geddasen'	32	"	west north-west	12	"	A karorī on king's behalf	3,000	mds.
23.	'Darbanga'	25	"	east north-east	100	"	Jāgīr of Ispandar Khan	10,000	mds.
24.	'Bellia'	40	"	east	55	"	A karorī of king's behalf	3,000	mds.
25.	'Sionporan'	36	"	north	18	"	A karorī of king's behalf	5,000	mds.
26.	'Bara'	28	"	west north-west	31	"	Jāgīr of Muhammad Tocky	10,000	mds.
27.	'Nerhen'	32	"	west north-west	9	"	A karorī of king's behalf	1,200	mds.
28.	'Poorunia'	70	"	east	150	"	Jāgīr of Ispandar Khan	3,000	mds.

(Cf. S. Chaudhuri, Trade and Commercial Organization in Bengal, 1650-1720, pp. 269-71.)

retained for the Patna gunpowder factory.[1] This suggests that there was a gunpowder factory of substantial size at Patna.

Diamonds

Diamonds were available in Bihar. The region south of sarkār Bihar, called Khokhra and conquered during the reign of Jehangir, produced precious stones in abundance.[2] Later, Tavernier refers to Soumelpour in the Lohardago (now Ranchi) district of Chotanagpur where diamonds were found in the sands of river Koel.[3] Soumelpour was stated to be 30 kos in the south of the fortress of Rohtas.[4] The region described by Jahangir and Tavernier is the same. The next mention of diamonds in these parts is by Mustafa in the account of his journey through Chhotanagpur to Sambalpur in 1758.[5]

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1. Cf. S. Chaudhuri, p.161.

2. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, pp.154-55.

3. Tavernier, II, pp.82-84. Also see, C.E.A.U. Oldham, 'Diamonds in Bihar and Orissa', JBORS, 1927, vol. 13, pt. III & IV, pp. 195-220.

4. Tavernier, II, pp. 84. Here 30 kos seems an error as the distance in a straight line is 275 miles; for details see Oldham, op. cit., p.220. The region in the 18th century was known for procuring diamonds (British Parliamentary Papers, III, pp.417-18).

5. Oldham, p.204.

The diamonds in this region were not obtained from the mines but from the river bed (Koel river). The method of procuring diamonds has been given by Jahangir and Tavernier. The method given by Jehangir is as follows:[1]

> "At the season when there is little water, there are pools and waterholes, and it has become known by experience to those who are employed in this work that above every water-hole in which there are diamonds, there are crowds of flying animals of the nature of gnats and which in the language of India they call Jhinga. Keeping the bed of the river in sight as far as it is accessible, they make a collection of stones (sangchīn) round the water holes. After this they empty the water holes with spades and shovels to the extent of a yard or 1½ yards and dig up the area. They find among the stones and sand large and small diamonds and bring them out".

Tavernier adds that the sand thus dug was brought to a large place at the bank and there it was filled in the

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1. Tuzuk, pp. 154-55; Tavernier, II, pp.84-86.

holes and then it was washed with water to get diamonds.[1]

The local Raja was the owner of the diamond fields where large number of persons, sometimes 8000 (annually), came to the river from nearby villages and towns to work there.[2] The assembling of such a large number of people would have been no problem because the season of digging (December-January) did not clash with that of sowing or harvesting of any crop. Therefore, the villagers came for a little extra money to work there. When the territory became a part of the Mughal kingdom, the Imperial servants of the state supervised the work of procuring diamonds and brought them to the court.[3]

The diamonds procured from this place were considered to be of second rank, the best being those from Gondwana.[4] But at times very expensive diamonds were also procured. In 1616, a diamond from Bihar was presented to Jahangir which was valued around 50,000 rupees.[5] On another occasion, in 1617, he was presented with a diamond weighing 14½ tankas, which was estimated around 100,000 rupees.[6] If a diamond was

1. Tavernier, II, pp. 84-86.
2. Ibid., p.85.
3. Tuzuk, p.154.
4. Ibid., p.22; Tavernier, II, p.86 "a large stone is rarely to be found here".
5. Tuzuk, p.155.
6. Ibid., p.188.

coloured, its value was much reduced.[1] The cutting and polishing of diamonds was done at the royal kārkhānas.[2]

In Soumelpur, the weighing of diamonds was done by ratīs, which was 7/8th of a carat or 3½ grains and its price was estimated according to the size and weight.[3] Diamond cutting was not done in Bihar.

Mica

At present, the greatest part of the world's supply of mica is obtained from the Bihar mica belt, an area extending from Gaya district in the west for some ninety miles through Hazaribagh and Mongyr to Bhagalpur district on the east with a width up to 16 miles.[4] No reference to its availability and mining has been made during the period under review. But mica was used from ancient times in the Hindu system of medicine. Marshall in 1670 refers to the two types of abrak (mica), the singrent abrak (lal abrak) and the Don abrak (Dhan abrak, thin ising glass?), which were used for curing different ailments by the physicians at Patna.[5] He

1. Tuzuk, p.244.
2. Ibid.
3. Tavernier, II, pp.89-90.
4. Jai Narain Thakur, 'Mica Industry in Bihar', JBRS, 1971, Vol. LVII, pt. 1-4, p.166.
5. Marshall, p.346.

did not mention from where and how it was obtained, but it is obvious that it was procured from Bihar itself. Abul Fazl speaks of Shīsha-i zar afshān (gilded glass?) available in Bihar.[1] Could this refer to mica, keeping in view its physical properties?

Buchanan in 1810-11 estimated that more than 500 maunds was annually exported from Patna alone.[2] The quantity suggests that mining would have been there for quite a long time and the view expressed by Thakur that it was first traced in 1826 in Hazaribagh, to which the considers as the beginning of modern mica industry, seems to be incorrect.[3] The mines were owned by the zamīndārs and digging was done on contract basis.[4] It was used for preparing a red powder thrown about at the festival of holī; and for painting walls and earthen ware.[5]

Borax

Borax was nowhere produced in Bihar. J.N. Sarkar, however has included borax in his list of minerals mined in Bihar.[6] He

1. Ā'īn, pp. 416-17.
2. Buchanan, Bihar & Patna, II, pp.460-61.
3. J.N. Thakur, op.cit., p.166.
4. EI, I, p.248.
5. Ibid., p.248.
6. Jagdish Narain Sarkar, Glimpses of Medieval Bihar Economy, Calcutta, 1978, p.69.

has drawn his inference from two references: one by Marshall, that "Tincall (borax) is procured from the Rajaes country (probably Bihar) from the hills, about 6 days journey N.W. from Pattana, and when brought to Pattana oyle is putt to it to preserve it".[1] S.A. Khan took the hills of Bihar for North Bihar, but the place meant by Marshall seems to be Nepal which was also on 6 to 8 days journey from Patna.[2] The second reference is to the purchase of 400 mds. of tincal in 1676 from Patna.[3] Bihar actually was a mart for the re-export of tincall. Borax was brought to North Bihar (Tirhut) from Nepal.[4]

(iv) Wood & Stone works

Bihar, having large tracts of forest, was a centre of wood works. Large number of articles were manufactured in villages by the carpenters. The foremost among these was the common plough of the peasant and the wooden "machines" for extracting sugar and oil, etc.

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1. Marshall, p.24.
2. Ibid., p.169.
3. Master, II, p.64; Sarkar, op.cit., p.69.
4. H.R. Ghoshal, op.cit., p.376.

Since the river network was quite extensive in Bihar, boats were an important means of transport; hence, the construction of boats was an important industry. Abul Fazl mentions that boats were procurable in planty and that, in addition to cavalry and infantry, the sūba furnished 100 boats á (maintained by the zamindars)[1]. Bowrey (1659-63) mentions several varieties of boats such as Olocko, Budgaroo, Purgoo, Boora and Patella, operating along the rivers of Bihar.[2] Most of these boats were constructed in Bihar. The English company also got boats built in Patna[3]. Daud Khan

1. Āīn, pp.416-17. In the sources of 14th-15th century, there are references to as many as 29 varieties of boats. Cf. Chaudhary, Mithila in the Age of Vidyapati, p.194.

2. Bowrey, pp.227-29. A number of these boats find mention in the 19th century accounts. Patellas appears to have been the most common variety. It was a big boat with a carrying capacity of 10 to 30 tons. It had a high stem from which a strong roof ran forward to the mast and was sharp at the prow. (Hunter, Vol. IV, pp.31-32). For the manufacture of Patellas at Shahabad, see Eastern India, Vol.II, p.546. Ulauk or Ulak was also a big boat like the Patella, with a long narrow bow over hanging the water in front (see Hunter, XIV, pp.31-32). Also see Grierson, Bihar Peasant Life, pp.42-43.

3. See Marshall, p.153, where he refers to the death of six carpenters due to famine while they were engaged in the construction of a 'Kashmir' boat for the company.

Quraishi, the governor of Bihar (1659-63), purchased several boats from the local boatmen and equipped them with artillery and guns.[1] Palankeen and Carts were made of wood. The dastūr-al Inshā', a collection of letters (1742-61), refers to certain forms of carriages and utensils which were requisitioned at Murshidabad from Patna. Among carriages were Chaupāl (a covered sedan or litter), mahāfa (a kind of litter in which women travel); bahl (two wheeled cart) and chhakra (carriage cart). Among utensils may be mentioned large wooden dishes or trays for distributing various kinds of perfumes and scents.[2]

Varnished wooden articles were also prepared in Bihar. Marshall (1668-72) gives the whole process of varnishing the wood:[3]

"First take caharbah (kahruba) (which is a kind of gum or amber), put it into new pot when heated over the fire, till melten; then put to it 1½ times its quantities of Tiseka teale (til ka tel, sesamum oil), and boyle both together for

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1. J.N. Sarkar, Life of Mir Jumla, the General of Aurangzeb, Calcutta, 1951, p.181.

2. Cf. J.N. Sarkar, Medieval Bihar Economy, p.80.

3. Marshall, p.430.

1/2 an hours till be very clammy 'viscid, adhesive), then take it of and straine it and keep it for use, which is first let the wood you would varnish stand in the sun till well dryed and then with the palme of your hand bath (moisten) or beat it in as thin as possible, leting it dry in the sun, and so do it 2 or 3 times".

Stone works and the art of sculpture was an old established art of the sūba.

During the 16th and 17th centuries, Rajgir and Gaya seem to be the main centres of stone works. Abul Fazl mentions that in the sarkār of Bihar, near the village of Rajgir, stone resembling marble are found of which ornaments are made.[1] About a hundred years later, Sujan Rai says stone ornaments were made near Gaya.[2] Buchanan, more than 100 years after Sujan Rai, refers to the availability of white quartz in 1810-11.[3] According to Buchanan, the jewellers of Bihar and its vicinity worked in rock crystal (phatik) alone. The crystal procured from the hills was of a small size and was mostly used for

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1. Ā'īn, p.417.
2. Sujān Rāi, pp.45-46.
3. Buchanan, Bihar & Patna, II, pp.464-76.

making beads (larger than peas) after rounding and polishing them.[1] These were in great demand by the Jain pilgrims.[2] The large crystals were made into religious objects such as linga.[3] It seems that the Ā'īn's reference to stone ornaments is about these rock crystal beads and strings made by drilling holes in the beads. Abul Fazl also refers to a great trade in precious stones at Gaya which were brought from "foreign ports".[4] Again, Buchanan informs about the manufacture of cups, plates and other beautiful vessels made at Gaya from Sang-i Mūsa (a sort of black stone). These vessels were in great demand by the pilgrims from Bengal.[5] Rings of stone were also made at Gaya which were bought in large numbers by the pilgrims.[6]

Munger also seems to have been a centre of stone works. The black stone throne or Masnad of the Nawab Nazims of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was made there.[7] The inscription

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1. Buchanan, Bihar & Patna, II , p.643.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ā'īn, p.417.
5. Bihar & Patna, II, p.644.
6. Ibid, p.642.
7. Cf. R.K. Chaudhary, History of Muslim Rule in Tirhut, Varanasi, 1970, p.157. For stone-cutters in this region, see Eastern India, II,p.259.

on it runs as follows : "This auspicious throne was made at Munger in Bihar by the humblest of slaves, Khwaja Nazar of Bokhara in 1052 A.H. (1643 A.D.)". The large number of architectural remains scattered throughout Bihar exhibit the fineness of stone work. A number of inscriptions from Bihar show the quality of this art which was mostly undertaken by the Muslims.[1]

Pottery and Glass works

The contemporary records refer to the use of earthen wares by the common people for cooking and storing water and grains, etc. Every large village in India had its potter, and pottery for every day use was made all over the country. In Bihar, potter's clay found in some parts is of a good quality which is used in producing strong rough unglazed vessels.[2]

Most of the houses in the sūba were tiled (khaprail).[3] Hence the tiles for the roof of houses would have been a considerable part of potter's work. Due to large scale saltpetre industry, there was a large demand for big earthen pots for boiling it.[4]

1. Cf. Ahmad, Inscriptions, pp.128, 177, 240.
2. EI, I, p.274.
3. Āīn, p.416, Sujan Rai, p.45.
4. According to a letter (1651), as many as 200 earthen pans broke in refining 600 bags of saltpetre (EF, 1651-54,p.95).

Apart from the above coarse pottery, Bihar produced fine earthenware during the period under review. Manucci, in 1663, mentions the manufacture of earthen crockery at Patna which was finer than glass and lighter than paper and had a strong scent. It was taken to the Mughal court and to all over the world as a curiosity.[1] Marshall noticed at Minapore (near Hajipur) fine earthenwares being manufactured which were so light that a vessel which could retain 18 oz. of water on weighing was found to be of 1-1/8 oz.[2] The vessels made at Begum Sarai were better than Minapore.[3] Gilding of earthen pottery with quicksilver was also practiced. Marshall describes the manner of gilding:[4] "To guild with quicksilver, Rub quick silver upon an earthen cup. Then take the root, branch and leaves of Iskpecha (Ishaqpechan, Ipomoea hederecca; American Jasmine) and bruise altogether and let the cup (so rubbed over) stand in the juice of said Iskpecha so bruised. Then take it out and rub it over againe with quicksilver and continue so doing 3 or 4 times, and it will be well guilded".

Buchanan, however, found no variety of fine pottery in the district of Patna[5]. The art had probably languished

1. Manucci, II, pp.84, 426.
2. Marshall, p.414.
3. Ibid., p.414.
4. Marshall, p.430.
5. Eastern India, I, p.347.

by the 19th century.

Abul Fazl mentions the manufacture of Shīsha-i zar-afshān (gilded glass ?), though it is difficult to establish what he is actually refering to[1]. A good quality of indigenous "Hour Glass"with sand in them were made at Patna[2].

Marshall observe that "neat hubble-bubbles" were made in Bhagalpur[3]. But he does not make it clear whether they (the bowls) were made of nāriyal (coconut) used by the common people, or of glass used by richer section. Hovhannes also purchased 'hookah' and Nechas (the pipe used for smoking huqqa)[4]. He also does not specify the material they were made of. An eighteenth century Persian glossary informs us that Patna produced very good quality glassware including the hubble-bubbles (qalian) of glass which were taken to other towns.[5] Perhaps the huqqas refered by Marshall and Hovhannes were also made of glass.

(vi) Leather and Horn work

Articles of leather and horn made in Bihar were famous. Shoes would have been a common article used by the upper class

1. Eastern India, I, p.347.
2. Marshall, p.281. For the manufacture of "sand glass" in India during the period under review see A. Jan Qaisar, Indian Response to European Technology and Culture, Delhi, 1982, pp. 76-77.
3. Marshall, p.121. Hubble-bubble was a term applied to huqqa used for smoking . See Henry Yule Hobson-Jobson, p.428.
4. The Ledger of Hovhannes, pp.164-66.
5. Anand Ram Mukhlis, Mirat-al Istilah, (Cf. A.Jan Qaisar, Indian Response to European Technology,op.cit., pp.77-78.

people. Besides shoes, leather buckles from the skin of wild and common buffaloes were also made.[1] Rhinoceros's skin was also used for buckles but was not good because of the thickness of the skin.[2]

The horn of buffaloes were used for making Indian bow.[3] Horns of rhinoceros were considered good for making different articles. A cup made of rhincoceros horn was considered a very pure thing by the Hindus. In Bihar, cups, rings and chūrees (bracelets) were made from rhinoceros horn.[4] Upto the 19th century. Munger was famous for necklaces, brooches, bangles and other ornaments made from buffalo's horn.[5]

(vii) Paper

The craft of papermaking reached a high level in Bihar during the 16th and 17th centuries. Abul Fazl refers to the manufacture of paper in the sarkār of Bihar.[6] Sujan Rai

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1. Mundy, II, p.170.
2. Ibid., p.171.
3. Ibid., p.170.
4. Ibid., pp.171-72.
5. T.N. Mukherjee, Art Manufacture of India, pp.149,282. EI, I, p.342.
6. Ā'In, p. 417.

mentions Gaya (sarkār of Bihar) as the centre of paper making in Bihar.[1] In the 18th century, Tiefenthaler refers to Arwal (sarkār of Bihar) as a paper producing centre.[2] Perhaps at a number of places in the sarkār of Bihar paper was manufactured. Again the same place (sarkār of Bihar and Arwal) with the addition of Shahabad (opposite Arwal, across the river) were identified by Buchanan (1811-12) as the main places where paper was produced.[3] All the above-mentioned sources indicate that for a long time this was an established handicraft of the region. The process of making paper in Bihar is not mentioned in the 16th and 17th century sources. The method of manufacturing paper is given in detail by Buchanan[4]. It was not much different from the process adopted in other places in 16th and 17th centuries.[5] In Bihar the old bags of crotolaria Juncea were used as raw material.[6] Two types of

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1. Sujān Rāi, pp. 45-46.

2. As quoted by V. Ball in The Travels of Tavernier, Vol.I, p.121 n.

3. Bihar and Patna, II, pp.623-25.

4. Ibid, pp. 623-25.

5. Cf.S.A.K. Ghori and A. Rahman, "Paper Technology in Medieval India", Indian Journal of History of Science, Vol. I, No.2, 1966, pp. 137-38.

6. Buchanan, Bihar & Patna, II, p.523.

workmen were involved, beater (dhengkis), who beat the pulp and mohradars who smoothened the paper by rubbing it with polished glass (mohra).[1]

(viii) Lac work

Under the Mughals, Bengal, including Bihar and orissa, has a monopoly of lac production.[2] At present, Bihar produces 41% of the total consumption of the world.[3] The lac is cultivated on the Palas and Bair trees. South Bihar with large tracts of forest was an ideal place for lac-culture. Lac-culture in Bihar was a prominent occupation during the period of our study and large quantities of lac were purchased by the English Company.[4] Lac was of different varieties according to the season of crop.[5]

During the period of our study, lac served two-fold purposes, viz. (i) for extracting red dye which was used for dyeing cloth[6] and varnishing toys[7]; and (ii) in the making of

1. Ibid, pp. 523-25.
2. J.N. Thakur, 'Lac Industry in Bihar', JBRS, Vol.LX, pt 1-4, 1974, p.59.
3. Ibid, p.57.
4. IA, 1914, pp.108, 110. Hughes purchased large quantities but later on no dealings in bulk is available. Probably the quality and prices were not suitable (Mundy, II,pp.151, 156; C.R. Wilson, I, op.cit., p.379).
5. J.N. Thakur, op.cit., p.61.
6. IA, 1914, p.78. For the method of extracting red dye, see Buchanan, Bihar & Patna, II, pp.649-50.
7. J.N. Thakur, op.cit., p.59.

women's bangles and lacquered cups, etc.[1] Lacquered cups as described by Marshall were made a follows:[2]

> "In Pattana they lack wood by heating it well and then heating the wax and caping upon it and rubbing it with some greene thing is soft and moist so they will thus make it very thin and it will last well".

For a long time Patna, on a limited scale[3], and Chhotanagpur with most of the south Bihar region, produced lac and lacquered goods on a fairly large scale.[4]

(ix) Other Industries

Bhagalpur was a centre for trade in bows and arrows.[5] Mundy found in Bihar that the horns of buffaloes were used for making such good bows which equalled the Turkish bows.[6]

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1. Marshall, p.415.
2. Ibid., p.415.
3. T.N. Mukherjee, op.cit., p.252.
4. C.M. Birdwood, The Industrial Art of India, pp.223-24.
5. Marshall, p.121.
6. Mundy, II, pp.170-71.

The method of bow making as described by him was as follows:[1]

> "Whose horns serve in the making of Indian (composite) bowes,adding diverse other materials, sinnews, strong glew, wood etts, beeing of the same from of your turkish bowes and as faire and as rich".

Abdul Fazl refers to frangrant flowers of Kewrā[2] & Muchkand[3] (Jasminum pubescens), which were found in Bihar. These flowers must have been used to extract perfumes. Large quantities of perfume were sent to the Mughal court. In the year 1700, the governor of Bihar sent 2½ maunds of 'Araq-i Bahār (the aroma of orange-flowers) again in the same year, 700 bottles of 'Araq-i Bahār weighing 2 maunds & 20 sers was sent to the court.[4] This would have been cheap and good because in the sūba, Tirhut had extensive production of oranges.[5] Buchanan also refers to the extraction of perfumes from kewrā and other flowers.[6]

1. Mundy, II, pp.170-71.
2. Ā'īn, p.97.
3. Ibid., p.416.
4. Cf. S. Hasan Askari, 'Bihar in the time of Aurangzeb', JBRS, XXXII, pt. II, p.146, pp.169-70.
5. Abul Fazl says that the trees of orange extended upto 30 kos (see Ain, p.417).
6. Buchanan, Bihar & Patna, II, pp. 631-32.

ORGANISATION OF PRODUCTION

All forms of production - from independent artisan level to the kārkhānas - existed in Bihar during the 17th century. The artisans in the rural areas of Bihar, who produced articles of daily use, formed a regular part of the village establishment. Even by the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century in some districts of the province, the same method remained in force, i.e. payment in kind by the peasants for the services of the blacksmiths, carpenters, potters and shoemakers.[1]

The organisation of production varied in different crafts and industries in accordance with the needs and requirements of that particular craft. We will therefore discuss them craft-wise.

The largest industry in Bihar involving the greatest number of artisans was that of textile production. Cotton cloth, particularly the 'Ambartee' Calico, was woven by the individual weavers on their own looms with the raw material generally procured by themselves. Each loom required two persons, sometimes one man and a woman, the latter to wind

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1. EI, II, pp.252, 255. Also see Chicherov, op.cit., pp.27, 37, 39.

and to assist in warping. The product was put on the market by the primary producers themselves.[1]

Some times the weavers themselves brought the product "ready whited and cured"[2] Here the washing was not actually done by the weavers as suggested by Chicherov.[3] In fact, the weavers got them washed by washerman since this must have enabled them to sell their products for a little more profit. The process of washing the cloth by the washers took three months and the charges were Rs. 3 for 20 pieces.[4] Incidentally one can see here a sort of division of work in two stages.

Yet another practice was the advancing of money to the weavers by the merchants, both Indian and European.[5] This was the putting out system which evolved gradually in response to the competitive demand in the market. The competitive investments of merchants as early as 1632 were of such magnitude of that Mundy found himself at a loss to procure the desired quantity of textiles he complains:

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1. Cf. EF, 1618-21, p.192.
2. EF, 1618-21, p.193.
3. Chicherov, pp. 67-68.
4. EF, 1618-21, p.192; IA, 1914, p.80.
5. EF, 1618-21, pp.197, 200.

> "It may be alledged that other merchants make gerate investments here, and whie might not I ? It is graunted, but theie are such whoe have used this trade a long time, goe gatheringe of it by little and little from towne to towne knowe its valewe and where to finde it, so that in 5 or 6 monthes they may procure 40 or 50 corge or perhaps 100. But wee were sent as though wee should finde heare ready what wee wanted".[1]

Advancing of money facilitated the acquisition of the desired quantity of cloth at the appropriate time. This system also guaranteed to some extent the quality and quantity of cloth to be procured from the weavers. The merchants laid down their specifications regarding the length and breadth of the cloth.[2] Money was advanced through the brokers and it took 40 to 50 days in getting the required cloth from the weavers.[3] In the case of cotton paintings, the cloth was generally supplied to workmen by the merchants, but the artisans used their own chemicals and colours.[4]

1. Mundy, II, p.145.
2. EF, 1618-21, p.197.
3. Mundy, II, p.145.
4. EI, I, p.357.

The organisation of production for silk and its fabrics had reached a higher stage, i.e. production in a manufactory since they were costly articles.

Silk in the form of coccoons was brought from Bengal to Patna where its winding was done. Here, again, the usual method of procurement was by way of money advances to secure 'as much quantity as they wanted'.[1] Hughes, in 1621, found it very difficult to get the silk at Patna "as requier it from the dellers therin, for that they are soe poore and begerlye that they can not furnishe us without trustinçe them with moneys before hand, which course we dare not attempt, they not beinge able to give securitye for performance".[2] This miserable condition of the artisans in silk industry must have compelled them to join the 'Corcona' (kārkhāna) of Hughes, and we do not find any attempt on the part of the artisans to oppose this move. The monopoly of the governor in the silk trade was probably the main reason for the poverty of silk winders. The English factors at the same time were not getting cheap silk due to this monopoly.[3] So the cheapest course they found was to get the winding done by themselves.

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1. EF, 1618-21, pp. 229-30.

2. Ibid., p.229.

3. EF, 1618-21, pp.197-98. Hughes wrote from Patna that they were getting silk 25 to 37 % dearer than the normal from 'Cottewalla' (kotwal, acting as the governor's agent).

Consequently, for the first time we come across a manufactory run by the merchants (English factors) for winding the silk, probably the first of its kind in the region. Hughes in 1620 started his 'Corcona' with thirty men to wind the silk and gradually the number of workmen was increased to 100.[1]

The kārkhānas of the Mughals (owned by the Emperors and nobles) did not undertake commodity production: they produced articles of luxury for direct consumption.[2] The importance of Hughes's kārkhāna lies in the fact that the product was for sale on the market.

The bleachers and dyers of cloth constituted the group of artisans which was neither a producer nor had anything to do with the marketing of the product: their activity was limited to giving a fine finish and good shape to the products. They received remuneration for this work.[3]

On the whole, it may be said that in the textile industry in Bihar, the putting-out system was widely in use and the practice of advancing cash was well-established. There is no evidence to show that raw material, with the exception of silk

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1. EF, 1618-21, pp.197-98.

2. Cf. Irfan Habib, 'Potentialities of Capitalist Development in the Economy of Mughal India, Enquiry, Winter, 1971, p.45.

3. IA, 1914, p.110. Also see Chicherov, p.68.

was also advanced to the artisans in our region. In fact, the advance of raw material was an exception rather than the rule in Mughal India.[1]

The organisation of diamond-mining in Bihar offers us a glimpse of large-scale production where a number of labourers and artisans worked at one place under one superior direction. Diamonds in Soumelpour in the Ranchi district of Chotanagpur were found in the sands of the river koel.[2] The diamond r region was owned by the local Raja. A large number of persons, sometimes 8000, annually came to the river from nearby villages and towns to work.[3] However, the employment of labourers was not for continuous production but for a short period (December-January).[4] When the territory became a part of the Mughal Empire, Imperial servants supervised the mining.[5]

Another major industry of Bihar in which large number of workers were engaged was the saltpetre industry. The production of saltpetere was generally carried on by the peasants,[6]

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1. See, A.J. Qaiser, 'The Role of Brokers in Medieval India', Indian Historical Review, Vol. I, No.2, September, 1974, pp.241-42.
2. Tavernier, II, pp.82-84. Also Tuzuk, pp.154-55.
3. Tavernier, II, pp.85.
4. Ibid., p.85.
5. Tuzuk, p.154.
6. Chicherov, p.67.

called nooneas in Bihar.[1] Most of the saltpetre-bearing land was owned by the king, jāgīrdārs on high officials.[2] Workmen established their own furnaces. Each furnace was attended by 4 or 5 persons and rent was paid on each furnace separately their own refineries and employed hired workmen.[3] The Dutch Company imported all the necessary equipments from Holland and established their refinery at Chapra.[4] But the move was strongly resented by the local people as it deprived them of their profits and they refused to supply whey (which was used for making saltpetre white and transparent.[5]

The usual method of advancing money to the saltpetremen prevailed. Money was advanced to petremen from September to June.[6] The rates and quality of the product was fixed beforehand.[7] The English company employed peons also to keep a watch on saltpetremen so that they may not supply it to the Dutch, "interlopers" or other merchants.[8]

1. EI, II, pp.278-80.
2. Cf. S. Chaudhuri, pp.269-71.
3. EI, I, pp.364-65.
4. Chapra was a village to the north-west of Patna.
5. Tavernier, II, p.12.
6. EF, 1668-69, p.303.
7. S. Chaudhuri, pp.166-67.
8. Marshall, pp.23-24.

A significant portion of the population was engaged in this trade,[1] though the refiners or nooneas earned scanty remuneration. The Collector of Tirhut wrote in 1809; "The nooneas are composed of the lowest order of natives with scarce a cloth to cover them and without any fixed residence"[2] The reason stated in the report is that they had generally to suffer apprenion and exploitation at the hands of the paikars or middlemen.

Another craft which perhaps required a team of workmen was boat-making but there is no detailed information about this in our sources. Similarly we possess no details regarding the organisation of production in other crafts. We may perhaps infer that wood, leather, stone, silver & gold works and various other articles of consumption were produced on individual artisan level production.

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1. The number of furnaces in 1811-12 was 566 in Patna and 75 in Shahabad (See Eastern India, I, Appendix, pp.38, 53).

2. Ghoshal, "Tirhut & Cφ.", op.cit., p.375.

CHAPTER IX

TRADE AND COMMERCE

The sūba of Bihar, due to its geographical situation, was one of the important regions of trade and commerce in India during the 17th century. Patna, the Principal town of the sūba, was the largest commercial town of Eastern India which acted as an inland emporium for the onward supply of commodities to the ports of Bengal and Orissa. On the other hand, all the overland trade between Bengal (and Orissa) and the rest of India was largely conducted through Patna.[1] Again Patna was also the chief mart for the goods from Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim and Tibet.

The commercial activities of the sūba may be divided into three categories: local commerce; inter-regional trade; and foreign trade.

(i) Local Trade:

(a) Let us first take the local trade. Most of the local exchange of commodities was done at the hāts or penths which were held weekly or biweekly. Such hāts were held

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1. Mundy, II, p.157: "It is the greatest mart of all this countries, from whence they repaire from Bengale that way to the sea-side, and from Indostan and other Inland countries round about, plentifull in provisions, abounding sundrie commodities."

even during the 14th and 15th centuries.[1] There were separate hāts for different commodities with well-established trading regulations.[2] For the 17th century, we do not have direct evidence for such regulations but we do come across many references to such penths in the literature of the period.[3] These hāts played significant role in the village economy of those days. The commodities exchanged were produced primarily by the local peasants and artisans. The items included all sorts of grain, various vegetables, fruits, salt, cotton thread, coarse fabrics, articles of iron, cattles and many other goods.

These hāts seem to have fulfilled the requirements of the rural areas. Moreover, they served as links between rural production and urban markets. For example, the English factors at Patna wrote in 1620:[4]

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1. Indrakant Jha, 'Chaudhevin-Pandrehavin shatabdi mein Mithila ka Vyapar', JBRS, 1968, Vol.54,pt. 1-4,pp.385-86.

2. R.K.Chaudhary, Mithila, op.cit., p. 196.

3. Sometimes place names suggest the presence of such hats. Narhat (Āīn, p.419); Pirpainti for example, suggests that hats were held on Mondays (cf. Marshall, pp.72,96). In a report of the Collector of Bhagalpur in A.D.1791, as many as 178 hāts have been mentioned in the whole district. Cf. K.K.Basu, 'Account of the Trade of Bhagalpur in the 19th century', JBRS,1943,vol.29,pt.1-2, p. 107.

4. EF, 1618-21, pp. 192-93.

"The usuall custome of buyinge the amberty calicoes at Lackour (which is the pente or fayr for that commoditye, and is a towne 14 course from this place) is as follows: theye are dalye brought in from the neighbouring gonges by the weavers, from whom they are bought rawe ----- In this manner, by reporte dalye may there bee bought 50,60 and some daye 100 peeces. Almost in the like nature are theye sould here in Pattana, being likewise brought thence by the weavers."

In the same manner, silk cloth from Baikanthpur was brought to Patna.[1] Again, cotton cloths from Nundanpur and Salimpur served the Patna markets.[2] Marshall speaks of grapes he ate at singhee which were grown at Hajipur.[3] Similarly, Tirhut being a large centre of animal husbandry,[4] would have supplied cattle and dairy products to other parts of the sūba.[5]

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1. Mundy, II, p. 155.
2. Ibid., p. 155.
3. Marshall, p. 142.
4. Āīn, p. 817.
5. Ghashal, op.cit., p. 371.

Annual or biannual fairs at religious shrines or near rivers on the occasion of bathing festivals also provided an opportunity for promoting local commerce. Marshall refers to great bathing festival near Hajipur (Sonpur Fair) where 50,000 people participated from such far off places as Central Asia and Nepal.[1] The fair is still held every year and a great trade in all sorts of commodities takes place there.

(ii) Urban Markets:

Markets, big and small, played a very important role in the commercial activities of the sūba. The small commercial centres provided a link with rural areas on the one hand, and larger commercial centres on the other. The latter in turn facilitated inter-regional and foreign trade. Patna,[2] Munger,[3] Bhagalpur[4] and Dariapur[5] were large commercial centres. Many of these towns could boast of well-known markets. The

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1. Marshall, pp. 141-42.

2. Fitch, Mundy, Tavernier and Marshall and almost all the travellers passing through Patna, as well as the English factory records, mention it as a very big commercial centre of the region.

3. Cf. C.E.A.U.Oldham, 'An old description of the Monghyr Fort', BPP, 1924, Vol.27,No.54,pp.159-60.

4. Marshall, p. 121.

5. Ibid., p. 77.

Urdu Bazar in Darbhanga was another important centre of trade during Akbar's reign.[1] Cities like Patna had many big markets.[2] The market in the middle of the town (Patna) was called Katra-i Shaista Khāni which was said to be full of the choicest pieces or cloths and goods.[3] Other important markets were Sultanganj Begamganj, Alamganj, Mandvi Rampur, etc.[4] In the town of Munger in 1812-13, out of 16 mohallas or wards eleven had a suffix of gunj or bāzār. On the basis of nomenclature, many of these, such as Mogul Bazar, Faujdari Bazar and Topkhana Bazar may be traced to Mughal period.[5] In 1802, it was reported about the bāzār of the Munger fort (probably the market in and around the fort referred to by De Graaf in 1670-71)[6] that this was attached

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1. R.K.Chaudhary, History of Muslim Rule in Tirhut,p.148.

2. Manucci, p. 83.

3. Cf. S.Hasan Askari, 'Madan-ul-Insha'-a Rare Collection of Letters', IHRC, XXXIV, pt.II,1958, p.194.

4. The list of the mahāls of sūba Bihar for 1712-19 and 1736 included Mandvi Begampur and Sultanganj. The latter having an estimated income of one Karor dāms and included five mandvis (Kāghaqāt, Add. 6586,ff.100a, 147b). These in all probability were the big markets of Patna which constituted as separate revenue-paying mahāls. All of these find mention in the map of Patna prepared by Buchanan in 1811-12. Besides there, a number of places in the same map are shown with the suffix gunj (see Bihar and Patna, II,map at the end of the volume). The main market of Patna, Alamganj, was the place where Hughes and Parker in 1620-21 rented a house (see EF, 1618-21, p.198).

5. Buchanan, Journal of Bhagalpur (map at the end). The other eight were Barabazar, Gedar Bazar, Belan Bazar, Bateman gunj, Puranigunj, Daburibazar, Chaok or Wesley bazar and Karem Bazar.

to the garrison under the "ancient" government (perhaps the Mughals) and continued to be so under Kasim Ali Khan till 1763-64 when the English Company took it over.[1] Bhagalpur also had six mohallas or wards (1812) with the suffix bāzār or gunj. The main of these was Shuja Ganj, named after Prince Shuja.[2]

A late 18th century survey of Bihar by John Shore differentiates between hāts, bāzārs and gunges. According to him, "hauts" were markets held on certain days usually in the open places, while bāzārs were established markets doing daily business. Some times hāts were organised on certain days in the bāzār itself. The gunges were wholesale trading centres of grain mainly, and in big towns there were also bāzārs and hāts within these gunges.[3]

(iii) Inter-regional Trade:

Bihar had regular commercial contacts with many places and regions of India, namely, Agra, Hugli, Qasim bazar, Lahore, Surat, Masulipatnam, Balarore, Tipperah, Benaras, Kashmir, Jaunpur, etc.

(Continued from the previous page)

6. Cf. C.E.A.U.Oldham, 'Monghyr Fort', op.cit., pp.159-60.

1. Bhagalpur Records, Vol.21, p.353.

2. Buchanan, Journal of Bhagalpur, map at the end. Also see Q.Ahmad, Inscriptions, p.107.

3. British Parliamentary Papers, III, p.460.

Our evidence is inadequate for ascertaining the total volume of the inland trade conducted from and to Bihar. We will therefore restrict our study to the pattern of trade only.

The various articles of trade may be grouped as follows:

A. Textiles

B. Saltpetre

C. Agricultural products

D. Other commodities.

A. Textiles:

Several sorts of cotton and silk fabrics produced in Bihar, Bengal and Orissa took the first place among other commodities. Large quantities of 'Ambartee' calicoes of Lakhawar,[1] 'Nundownpore' and Salimpur[2] and 'Caym Conyes' were purchased by the Indian and foreign merchants for sale in Agra and Lahore.[3]

Mundy gives a list of cloths to be had at Patna. A number of them such as 'Ambarees', 'Charconees (chequered muslin), Hammomes (a thick stout cloth used for wrappers

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1. EF, 1618-21, pp. 193, 204.

2. Mundy, II, p.154.

3. EF, 1618-21, p.193. Also IA, 1914, vol.43, p.79.

were brought from Orissa.[1] 'Gringhams'[2] and 'Sannoes'[3] were other varieties procured from Orissa.[4]

A variety of cloths from the different regions of Bengal were also taken to Patna. Mundy in 1632 noticed the sale of 'Ckanaes' (khāna) from Sonargaon and Dacca, 'Molmol-shahees' (Malmal Shahi) and Ellachas (alaches) from Malda, Ambar of 'Jettalees' from Sherpur Mircha, 'Cuttanees' or Agabahees[5] (from Bengal) at the Patna market.[6] Other varieties of textiles from Bengal 'oramalls' (Rumāls)[7] 'Mandles', girdles and 'doupattas' of Malda.[8] 'Sahannes' and Hammoms were brought from the lower parts of Bengal.[9] Qasimbazar provided sundry sorts of raw and wrought silk stripes interwoven with gold and silver.[10] Benares "mandiles" (mandil,

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1. Mundy, II, pp.154-55.
2. Mixed silk and cotton piece goods see S.Chaudhuri, Appendix 'C', p.261.
3. A sort of plain cotton cloth of Orissa, see John Irwin, 'A Glossary of textile terms', Indo-European Textile History, p.70.
4. Mundy, II, pp.154-55.
5. Mixed silk and cotton piece goods, see S.Chaudhuri,p.260.
6. Mundy, II, pp.154-55, 230.
7. Bowrey, p.231. Rumal were a sort of silk or cotton piece good with handkerchief pattern, see S.Chaudhuri,p.262.
8. EF, 1618-21, p.195.
9. EF, 1618-21,pp.193, 195. They were probably brought from Orissa (see John Irwin, op.cit., pp. 66,70.)
10. Bowrey, p.230.

a turban cloth woven with silk and gold thread) were sold at Patna.[1] Quilts of Satgaon[2] and coarse carpets of Jaunpur[3] also found a place in Patna markets.

Large amounts of cloth were purchased at Patna for Surat.[4] Manucci found one Khwaja Safar purchasing cloths at Patna worth 30,000 rupees for despatching them to Surat.[5]

Sericulture was not practised in Bihar. Cocoons were brought from Bengal to Patna, where, after winding, it was sent to all parts of India. The main centres of the cocoons supply in Bengal were "Makhsudabad" (Murshidabad) and Saidabad.[6] In 1620-21, silk trade formed the bulk of the English trade, a part of which was marked for sale at Agra.[7] Pelsaert estimated that 1000 to 2000 mds. of silk from Patna was purchased, the larger part of which was sent to Gujarat and the rest to Agra.[8] Much of the silk weaving industry of Gujarat was

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1. EF, 1618-21, pp. 73, 206.
2. Ibid., pp. 195, 198.
3. Ibid., p. 195.
4. Mundy, II, p.156.
5. Manucci, II, p.84.
6. Mundy, II, p.156.
7. EF, 1618-21, p.197. In 1620, Hughes and Parker wrote that they could provide 300 maunds of silk annually, p.213. Also see IA, 1914, pp.78-79. EF, 1622-23, pp.9-10.
8. Pelssert, pp.4, 7, 31 (The maund of 50 Holland pounds is the Akbari maund (about 55 lb. avoirdupois, Ibid., p.7).

dependent on the supply of silk from Bihar, largely replacing the Chinese.[1]

All sorts of gold embroidered and other finer varieties of cloths from Gujarat, Benaras and Jaunpur were available at Patna.[2]

It seems that the profit derived from inter-regional trade was fairly encouraging, and even small merchants purchased cloths from Bihar for sale at Agra.[3]

B. Saltpetre:

An estimate made in 1688 tells us that of the total production of 1,27,238 mds. of saltpetre, 1200 mds. were sent to Hugli and 3000 mds. to Dacca.[4] The Dutch took saltpetre to Pulicat for manufacturing gunpowder there.[5]

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1. Pelsart, pp. 7, 31.
2. Cf. Wilson, I, p. 379.
3. Banarsi Das, Ardh Katha, ed. Mata Prasad Gupta, Prayeg, 1943, pp. 31, 35.
4. Cf. S. Chaudhuri, p. 161.
5. Thevenot, p. 148.

C. Agricultural Products:

'Of the agricultural products, the main article of trade was rice, which was sent to Bengal. Bowrey was amazed to see export of grain from Patna "to such a plenti-full country as Bengala."[1] Wheat and other grains were supplied to Orissa also.[2] Even the English factors at Masulipatam in 1659 asked their counterparts at Patna to supply rice to them.[3]

Sugar was another commodity which was carried to many places including Masulipatam.[4] Hugli too had a good market for Bihar sugar.[5]

Large quantities of opium produced in Patna were taken to all regions of India.[6]

Ginger from Bihar was sent to Hugli in large amounts.[7]

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1. Bowrey, p. 226.
2. Ibid., p. 225.
3. EF, 1655-60, p. 262.
4. Fitch, p.24; EF, 1655-60, p.263.
5. Hedges, Diary, I, p. 164.
6. Hamilton, p.414.
7. EF, 1646-50, p.338.

Other Commodities:

Blake, the chief of the Bengal English factory, purchased spices worth 12,000 rupees and sent them for sale to Patna.[1] Huge amount of Musk was brought to Patna from Bhutan which ,in turn, was supplied to Agra and other regions.[2]

For salt, Bihar was dependent on other regions. The boats carrying saltpetre from Bihar to Balasore returned with salt to Patna.[3] Salt was also supplied from Bengal. However, the English trade in salt was stopped in 1727 by the government.[4] Caravans with salt, among other things, used to frequent Patna regularly.[5]

Quicksilver and vermilion were also vendible at Patna.[6]

Merchants from Tipperah used to visit Patna and Dacca to purchase coral, yellow amber, tortoise shells, sea-shells bracelets and other items for their territories.[7] These items

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1. Cf. S. Chaudhuri, pp. 222-23.
2. Tavernier, pp.143,146. Also see, Wilson, Annals,I,p.378.
3. EF, 1655-60, p.297.
4. Cf. Bhattacharya, op.cit., pp. 41,44.
5. Cf. Askari, 'Bihar in the time of Akbar', BPP, Vol.LXV, Jan-Dec 1945, No.128, p.22.
6. Mundy, II, pp. 78, 138.
7. Tavernier, II, p.273.

were not produced in Bihar but they were brought from the coastal regions.

Saffron came from Kashmir.[1]

Horses called Goonts (gunth) or Tangans were brought to Bihar from Kuch Bihar (in Bengal).[2]

The large number of commodities imported and exported, and the presence of merchants of various regions and diverse nations indicate that the size of inter-regional trade was substantially large in the overall commercial activities of the sūba.

Foreign Trade:

The foreign trade of the sūba, which until the 16th century was small, swelled during the 17th century. Among the European merchants, the Portuguese were the first to have established regular commercial contacts with Bihar.[3] In 1620, the first English commercial mission was sent to Patna to explore the possibilities of trade there.[4] The Dutch were the next, followed by the French.

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1. Marshall, p. 413.

2. Mundy, II, p.136.

3. EF, 1618-21, p.195. Hughes on reaching Patna in 1620 found the Portuguese busy in commercial activities there. Also see T.R.Chaudhary, Bengal under Akbar and Jehangir, p.104.

4. Cf. EF, 1618-21,p.191. Also see R.C.Temple, 'Documents relating to first English Commercial Mission to Patna,' IA, 1914,Vol. 43, pp.69-111.

Among the textile goods, Amberty calicoes of Lakhawar were considered better than those of Samana (Punjab) and Baftas (of Gujarat), and were exported to England.[1] Caym Conyes (Qāimkhāni) of Bihar were found more suitable for Persia than England; they also vended well in Barbary or Turkey.[2] They were sent to Lahore and then carried to Persia.[3] In 1620, the English factory's purchases of ambertees was 2000 pieces[4] which rose to 5000 pieces per annum in 1620.[5] 'Ambertees', Mandyles (Mandil), 'Caym Conyes' 'Elachas' and 'Doupattas' of Malda were purchases in bulk by the merchants for Persia.[6] A variety of cotton textiles 'Elachas', 'Bihari Khara' and 'Cheera' were taken to Nepal and Tibet.[7]

Around 1661, 'Ambertees' and 'Caym Conyes' worth ten hundred thousand of rupees per annum were purchased by the Armenian and other merchants who took them to Surat to be sent to Persia.[8]

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1. IA, 1914, pp. 77-78.
2. Ibid., p.82; EF, 1618-21, p. 206.
3. Ibid., p. 195.
4. IA, 1914, p.77.
5. Ibid., p. 104.
6. EF, 1618-21, p.195.
7. The Ledger of Hovhannes, pp.163-69. For the details about there cloths see Chapters on crafts and Industries.
8. CF. Wilson, I, p.379.

The main commodities purchased by the Portuguese in Bihar were carpets of Jaunpur, Ambertees, Khassa and all sorts of thin cloth from Patna for sale in the South-East Asia.[1] 'Baikanthpuries' (Baikanthpur Elachas, referred by Hughes) were exported to Persia by the 'Mogul' merchants and to England by the English, where they were supposed to make good profits.[2] 'Tafftas' of Bihar, considered better than those of Qasimbazar, were also exported.[3] The English factory in 1668 ordered for 2000 pieces.[4] Other purchases made by the English from Patna included 'Sahannas' 'Hammomes', Tussers, quilts and Maldawares, the last named for Persia.[5] Huge quantities of silk, winded and dyed at Patna, were procured by the English for England.[6] In 1620-21, the English demand for this silk at Patna was 30 mds. per month.[7] A special variety of silk (dyed and dressed) called sleeve silk (Floss silk) was prepared by Hughes for export to England.[8]

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1. EF, 1618-21, pp. 195, 213-14.
2. Ibid., p. 197.
3. Cf. Wilson, I, p.379.
4. EF, 1668-69, pp. 169-70.
5. IA, 1914, p.77; EF, 1618-21, p.197.
6. IA, 1914, pp. 78-81.
7. Ibid., p. 81.
8. EF, 1618-21, p.198.

In the last decades ofthe 17th century, the chintz of Patna were also in great demand for export to Europe, because they were cheaper and of better quality than those of the Coromandal and Gujarat.[1] The English factors wrote in 1700:[2]

> "The Patna chints with white ground now grow into demand again, as the painting will be brisk and lively colours and not too full of work as many of the Matchlepatam (Masulipatam) chints be, send us any sorts under this qualification ."

The demand for foreign textiles in Bihar was almost nil. As late as 1714, the English factors found that their woollen cloths had no market in Bengal and Bihar.[3] It seems small quantities of good quality woollen fabrics were brought from Tibet.[4]

Next to textiles, saltpotre was the most important commodity exported to Europe from Bihar. Perhaps it came to

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1. John Irwin, 'Indian Textile Trade in the Seventeenth Century', JITH,III,pp.60-61. Also see, S.Chaudhuri, pp. 193-94.

2. J.Irwin, 'Indian Textile Trade', op.cit., p.60.

3. Cf. S. Chaudhuri, p.112.

4. The Ledger of Hovhannes, p.161.

occupy the first place among items of export from Bihar during the second half ofthe 17th century.[1] The English company was always asking the Patna factors for more and more supply of saltpetre. It was wholly dependent on Patna for saltpetre supply because it had discontinued its purchases on the west coast in 1668, and at Masulipatam in 1670.[2] At the same time, the Dutch were taking away larger quantities,[3] and around 1650s the Dutch were exporting ten times than the English.[4] Before 1650, Mundy is the only European traveller who refers to Bihar saltpetre, but he considered it of inferior quality.[5] The first reference to large-scale exports are found in the Dutch records. In 1649, 8,40,000 lbs. of saltpetre from Patna were collected by the Dutch.[6] In the English records, its export from Patna to Balasore and Hugli is mentioned for the first time in 1650.[7]

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1. Cf. Bowrey, p.229; Manucci, II, p.426; Oldham, 'Description of Monghyr Fort', op.cit., p. 157.
2. Wilson, I, pp. 45-46.
3. Moreland, Akbar to Aurangzeb, p.120.
4. Balkrishna, op.cit., pp. 101-102.
5. Mundy, II, p.155.
6. T.R.Chaudhuri, Jan Company, op.cit., p. 170.
7. EF, 1646-50, p.337. Also see, Wilson, I, pp. 25-26.

The English demand at Patna in 1658 was for 25,000 mds.[1] In 1659, 5000 pounds were sanctioned for investment in saltpetre.[2] In 1660, the quantity purchased was 1200 tonnes.[3] But in 1661, the demand in England was low and the Company decided to purchase only 600 - 800 "tonnes" from all parts of India (100 from Surat), out of which not more than 200 tonnes were to be purchased from Patna, it being cheap at Coromandel.[4] Again in 1662, the English demand was low and only 4000 pounds were allowed for saltpetre at Patna.[5] In 1661 and 1662, the Patna factors were askedto send 150 and 200 tonnes respectively to Bantom.[6] In 1664, the English demand was for 20,000 mds. of refined (twice boiled) saltpetre.[7] From 1663-64 to 1678-79, the English Company exported saltpetre as follows:[8]

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1. EF, 1655-60, p. 193.
2. Ibid., p. 275.
3. Ibid., p. 393.
4. EF, 1661-64,pp. 45, 46, 61.
5. Ibid., p. 165.
6. Ibid., pp. 46, 165.
7. Cf. S. Chaudhuri, pp. 45-46.
8. Ibid., p.170. Almost all the saltpetre exported from Bengal was brought from Bihar.

Year	Quantity
1663 - 64	943,650 lbs.
1664 - 65	990,450 lbs.
1668 - 69	1,977,300 lbs.
1669 - 70	712,950 lbs.
1670 - 71	630,900 lbs.
1671 - 72	937,500 lbs.
1675 - 76	1,331,400 lbs.
1676 - 77	1,253,250 lbs.
1678 - 79	1,876,800 lbs.

In 1679, the amount of 29,890 mds. was sent in one instalment and then 8000 mds. was sent in another.[1] The years from 1681-82 to 1685-86 was the period of the highest demand. In an order of the Court of Directors in 1682, the Patna factors were asked to supply 1500 "tonnes" of saltpetre.[2] The total exports from Bihar in the year 1688 were around 105,238 mds.[3] The English factory's exports after 1680 were as follows:[4]

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1. Streynsham Master, I, p.109.
2. Ibid., p. 323.
3. Ibid., p. 161.
4. Ibid., p. 170.

Years	Quantities	Average
1681-82 to 1685-86	6,298,208 lbs.	1,259,641 lbs.
1690-91 to 1695-96*	2,652,964 lbs.	530,592 lbs.
1696-97 to 1700-01	2,226,132 lbs.	445,226 lbs.
1701-02 to 1706-07**	3,785,486 lbs.	757,097 lbs.
1710-11 to 1714-15	4,202,514 lbs.	840,502 lbs.
1715-16 to 1719-20	5,352,689 lbs.	1,070,537 lbs.

(* Excluding 1691-92; ** Excluding 1703-04)

The Dutch East India Company exported a far greater quantity of salpetre than the English. In 1669-70, the Dutch exports to Holland an to her Asiatic factories amounted to 3,443,440 lb. (Dutch).[1] During the three years (1701-02, 1702-03, 1704-05), the Dutch Company exported to Holland 8,494,754 lb. at an average of 2,381,918 lb. yearly, while from 1705-06 to 1710-11 their annual export rose to 2,999,789 lb.[2]

During the first half of the 18th century, saltpetre occupied a prominent position on the export list of the English Company.[3]

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1. Streynsham Master, I, pp. 170-71. The Dutch lb. was equivalent to 1.09 English lb.

2. Master, I, p.171.

3. Bhattacharya, op.cit., pp. 150-51; K.K.Datta, Bengal Subah, I, pp. 368, 370-71.

Saltpetre was of immense importance for the Europeans and Indians because of its use in the gunpowder. The English factory at Patna was allowedto borrow money for this commodity only, in spite of the exorbitant rates of interest.[1] During the Civil War in England (1688-89), the English Company pleaded for maintaining its privileges for the supply of saltpetre.[2] The abolition of the Dutch factory at Patna in 1692 was opposed by the Dutch factors on the grounds of saltpetre supply.[3]

The next important articles for export were some agricultural products of Bihar.

We have shown in the third chapter that Bihar produced opium on a large scale in the 16th and 17th centuries. During the 17th century, regions around Patna and Mungery were the main contres which supplied opium, but the opium of Patna was regarded better in quality.[4] In 1670, De Graff noticed a number of boats carrying opium from Patna to Bengal.[5]

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1. EF. 1646-50, p. 337.

2. S.A.Khan, The East India Trade in the 17th Century, p.13.

3. Niharranjan Ray, Dutch Activities in the East, Seventeenth century p.51.

4. Marshall, p.414.

5. Cf. Oldham, 'Monghyr Fort', op.cit., p.157.

In 1692, the abolition of the Dutch factory was opposed on the ground of opium supply along with saltpetre and their main fear was that the English might establish their monopoly.[1] In a collection of papers concerning the affairs of the English Company in Bengal (1661-85), the list of commodities procurable at Patna gives details of the prices of opium and also discusses at length other aspects of its trade.[2] Competition between the English, French and Dutch for opium trade ended with the monopoly of the English when they established themselves comfortably in the 18th century.[3]

Bihar also exported sugar in the bulk.[4] The English and Dutch were the main buyers. In 1650, the instructions issued to the Bengal factors included the one about sugar when the factors were asked to follow the methods adopted by the Dutch for exporting it.[5] The Patna sugar was exported to Gambroon (Bandar Abbas) by the English company, but it could not fetch a good market there.[6] Sugar from Patna was also taken to Nepal.[7]

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1. Niharranjan Ray, op.cit., p. 51.
2. Cf. Wilson, I, pp. 378-79.
3. B.Chowdhury, Growth of Commercial Agriculture in Bengal, p.3.
4. R.Fitch, p.24.
5. Wilson, I, p.26.
6. EF, 1655-60, p.224.
7. The Ledger of Hovhannes, p.168.

Ginger was purchased by the Dutch which they exported to Europe.[1] The Armenians also purchased Ginger for export.[2] In 1676, the English company purchased 1800 mds. of turmeric.[3] The court of Directors in 1682 asked for 200 "tonnes" of turmeric from Patna.[4] Saunf (Aniseed) was also purchased by the Armeniana and English to be exported to Persia and Europe.[5]

Gumlac in large amount (200 mds) was purchased by Hughes and Parker for export to England, Persia and the Red Sea.[6] But, lateron, no reference to large scale dealings in this commodity is available.[7]

Saffron was brought to Patna from Nepal.[8]

Besides agricultural products, transactions in a number of sundry commodities took place.

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1. EF, 1646-50, p. 338.
2. The Ledger of Hovhannes, p.162.
3. Master, I, p.64.
4. Cf. S.Chandhuri, pp. 177, 263.
5. The Ledger of Hovhannes, pp. 162-63, 166.
6. IA, 1914, pp. 108,110.
7. The quality was reported bad and prices higher. Mundy, II, pp. 151,156; also Wilson, I, p.379.
8. Marshall, p. 413.

Musk was the main item of import from the eastern countries of Bhutan[1] and Nepal.[2] From Bhutan it was brought in cold season to Bihar wherefrom it was exported to Persia via Agra.[3] It was also exported to England, Holland and other European countries.[4] Tavernier is reported to have purchased musk worth 26,000 rupees.[5] The Armenian merchant, Hovhannes, brought 483 kg. of musk to Patna.[6]

The commodities supplied in return to Bhutan were iron, butter, oil, hemp and corn.[7] Sometimes coral, yellow amber, tortoise shells, bracelets and other sea shells were also taken to Bhutan from Patna and Dacca.[8]

Borax or tincall was brought from Tibet and adjoining territories to Bihar where the French[9] and the English

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1. Tavernir, II,pp.143,146,259. Also, Wilson, I,p.379.
2. Marshall, p.163.
3. Tavernier, II,pp.143,146,258-59. Also, Wilson, I,p.378.
4. Tavernier, II, p.258; Bowrey, pp. 229-30.
5. Tavernier, II, p.258.
6. The Ledger of Hovhannes, p.161.
7. Wilson, I, p. 379.
8. Tavernier, II, p.261.
9. S.P.Sen, The French in India, Calcutta, 1958, p.91.

purchased them. In 1676, the English Company purchased 400 mds. of borax from Patna.[1] Marshall noticed its import in Bihar from the 'north country', (probably Nepal).[2] As late as 1792, Nepal exported Borax to Tirhut.[3]

Precious stones from foreign countries were brought to Gaya where ornaments were made from them.[4]

Spices brought by the Dutch from Siam and the "South Seas" found their way to Patna via Bengal.[5] The portuguese also brought spices to Patna, probably from the same areas.[6]

"Lignum alloe" was exported by the English to England.[7]

"Spicknard" (spikenard) were imported from the "north country" in the cold weather (probably Nepal).[8]

The Armenian merchants took amber, coral beads, silk, chints, silver-striped silk and precious stones to Lhasa.[9]

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1. Master, II, p.64.
2. Marshall, p.24.
3. HR Ghoshal, op.cit., p.376. Buchanan in 1811-12 also noticed import of Borax from Nepal (Bihar & Patna, II, p.682).
4. Ā'īn, p. 417.
5. EF, 1665-67, p. 261.
6. EF, 1618-21, pp. 195, 213-14.
7. IA, 1914, p.105.
8. EF, 1618-21, pp. 198-99.
9. Marshall, p.169. Also see The Ledger of Hovhannes, pp.163-66, 169-70.

Some spices and tobacco from Lhasa and Candles, tea and textiles from Nepal were also brought to Patna.[1] Gold was also imported in substantial quantities.[2] The Portuguese used to bring to Bihar silk stuffs of China, tin and jewel wares.[3]

Some articles were also imported from England. In 1634, some lead and broad cloth received by the Masulipatam factors from England were sent to Patna.[4] In 1679, 100 mds. of lead were sent to Patna by the English factory at Hugli.[5]

Bihar was short of copper, so the English and the Dutch factors brought the essential articles of copper used in refining saltpetre from outside.[6] In 1739, the Patna factors askedthe Calcutta council to send up all the coppers they received from England, which they believed would go in the mint.[7] Two thousand and six hundred maunds of copper were

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1. The Ledger of Hovhannes, pp. 161-62, 171.
2. Armenian merchant Hovhannes purchased more than 5 kg. of gold from Tibet and sold it in Patna Ibid., pp.161-62.
3. EF, 1618-21, pp. 195, 213-14.
4. EF, 1634-36, p. 42.
5. Master, II, p.354.
6. EF, 1651-54, p.95. Also T.R.Chaudhuri, Jan Company, p.169.
7. Cf. Bhattacharya, op.cit., p.128.

accordingly sent to Patna under special guards.

Sword Blades[1], bonelace[2], and a number of luxury items brought from England were also sold in Patna.

The extent of commercial activities in and through Bihar may be gauged from the number of coins issued from the Patna mint: the turnover was larger than that of all the mints of Bengal put together. Upto 1655, the production in the Patna mint was the largest in the region.[3] This was due to the influx of silver (and copper) in Bihar as a result ofthe brisk trade. For example, in 1682, the amount of treasure sent to the English factory at Patna was 7,601 pounds sterling, while the amounts in goods was equivalent to £ 824 only.[4]

Trade Routes and Means of Transport:

In view of the large volume of inter-regional and foreign trade carried out from and through Patna, we must

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1. Marshall, p. 12.
2. IA, 1914, p. 79.
3. See Aziza Hasan, 'Mints of the Mughal Empire', PIHC, 29th Session, 1967, pt. I, pp. 327,330.
4. Cf. S.Chaudhuri, p. 213.

study the trade-routesthrough which it was conducted.

We may divide the trade routes into two: (a) land routes and (b) river routes.

(i) Land Routes:

Towards the western regions, the land route most frequently used by the merchants was Patna-Agra route which ran through Agra-Firozabad-Etawah-Ajitmal-Bhagalpur-Fatehpur-Shahzadpur-Allahabad-Benaras-Mogulsarai-Sasaram-Agnusarai-Naubatpur to Patna.[1] From Banaras to Patna there were two roads to reach Patna; the one described above, and the other ran parallel to the Ganges via Ghazipur-Buxar-Ranisagar and Patna.[2] This route was used by Prince Khurram at the time of his rebellion while marching to Allahabad from Bengal.[2]

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1. Cf. Mundy, II,pp.78-134. Also Tavernier, I,pp.113-121. Marshall, pp.159-60. It took Mundy more than 40 days to reach Patna from Agra while his predecessor, Hughes, reached in 29 days (EF, 1618-21, p.191). Tavernier covered the same distance in 30 days. The time taken by the transport of goods was also 30 days (IA, 1914,p.78). It seems that during the rainy season when Mundy travelled the roads were not in good shape. Also see A.K.M.Farooque, Roads and Communications in Mughal India, Delhi,1977, p.33.

2. J.N.Sarkar, India of Aurangzeb, pp.cix-cx.

3. B.P.Ambasthya, 'Rebellions of Salim and Khurram', JBRS, 1959, vol.45, pt. 1-4, p.339.

Agra was connected with Delhi, Surat and Lahore by land routes. From Agra, all commodities destined for Persia, were taken to Lahore. In the early years of the English Company's trade with Bihar (1620-21), since the ports of Bengal and Orissa were under the control of the Portuguese, all commodities were taken to Surat where they were shipped for onward journey.[1] The route from Patna to Delhi as traced by Marshall was also via Agra.[2] But the Delhi-Patna route mentioned in the latter sources was Delhi-Ghaziabad-Napur-Moradabad-Rai Bareily-Benaras-Buxar-Arrah and Patna,[3] thus by passing Agra.

Towards the Eastern region, the main land route was through all the important commercial centres. It passed through Munger, Rajmahal-Qasimbazar-Hugli and Balasore.[4] Marshall travelled from Hugli to Patna by road taking the following route: Hugli-Satgaon-Plasey-Qasimbazar-Maksudabad-Rajmalah-Burgungall-Garhi-Pialpur-Kahalgaon-Bhagalpur-Ghoraghat-Munger-Surajgarha-Dariapur-Barh-Baikanunthpur-Patna.

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1. EF, 1618-21, pp. 217,256.
2. Marshall, pp. 159-60.
3. J.N.Sarkar, India of Aurangzeb, pp. cviii-cx.
4. Marshall, p.161.

The land route from Hugli almost ran parallel to the Ganges and took 20 days to reach Patna.[1]

In the North, Patna was linked with Nepal by a route passing through Hejipur-Singhee-Mughlani Sarai-Butsula-Mehsi-Motihari-Hitaure and Kathmandu.[2] On the other hand, Nepal was linked through hilly routes with Tibet, Bhutan, Lhasa, etc.[3] Hovhannes (1686 & 1692-93) took a different route from Marshall from Patna to Kathmandu to Tibet. His route was Patna-Hajipur-Muzaffarpur-Batnaiai-Chantee-Gogrigot-Naraingot-Damami-Erajvarai-Kotraihai-Patrinikai-Golkhibas-Sanku-Kambu-Batgam-Kathmandu-Sanka-Listi-Kasai-Kuti (Tong-li)-Zignichai-Lhasa.[4] The merchants going from Kashmir to Bhutan and Nepal also passed through Patna, the hill route being dangerous by reason of forests, full of beasts.[5] The Patna-Kashmir route was via Agra and Delhi and took 40 days.[6]

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1. Marshall, pp. 111-127.
2. Ibid., p. 161.
3. Ibid., p. 161.
4. The Ledger of Hovhannas, pp. 159,161-62.
5. Marshall, p. 169.
6. Marshall, pp. 169-70.

(b)(ii) River Routes:

The most important river route was from Patna to Hugli. Marshall and Tavernier, while covering the route in a boat, have recorded the whole journey.[1] The route was Patna_Munger-Bhagalpur-Kahalgaon-Garhi-Rajmahal-Donapore-Qasimbazar-Nadia and Hugli. It took Marshall only 10 days to reach Hugli while, by land, the same distance on return journey was covered in 20 days, the season (September) being favourable for the laden boats to go downwards when the river was full. From Hugli, goods were sent to different destinations by ships.

On the Western side, the river Ganges connected Patna with Agra via Allahabad, the boats sailing from Agra on the Jamuna followed the course of the Ganges from Allahabad (where the two rivers meet). Fitch (1584) accompanied a fleet of one hundred and forty boats with diverse kinds of merchandise from Agra to Satgaon (via Allahabad and Patna).[2] Abul Fazl has also given the detailed description of the route on the occasion of Akbar's expedition by river to the eastern provinces.[3]

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1. Ibid., pp. 95-101; Tavernier, I,pp.123-128.
2. Fitch, pp. 18-26.
3. Akbarnama, III, pp. 87-99.

(iii) Bridges and Sarāīs:

Numerous rivers cries_crossing Bihar would have made the road transport difficult without bridges, especially in the rainy season.

Many bridges in Bihar have been referred to in our sources. Mundy noticed a bridge at Khurramabad over the river Koodra, which joined Sasaram-Patna road.[1] Marshall on his journey from Rajmahal to Patna took note of a bridge at Ghoraghat which was made of stones having seven arches. The bridge was 140 yeards long, 15 or 20 high and 6 or 7 broad.[2] There was a stone bridge at Patuha (near Patna) also.[3]

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1. Mundy, II,p.129; Tavernier, I,p.120. The bridge was built in 1612-13 (see Q.Ahmad, Inscriptions, pp.208-11).

2. Marshall, p.74. Kuraishi, Protected Monuments,op.cit., pp.219-20. Kuraishi describes it as the 'Hadaf' bridge built around 1650. According to him, it had six arches each 11 feet in span. "It is 236 feet long bastions of stone masonary one on either side of the road way..... like the hindu bridges in Orissa this bridge also rises in the middle, where the arches are higher than at the ends ..... The total height of the bridge including the parapets (which are 3 feet 9 inc.high) varies from 21 feet to 25 feet above the bed of stream. Also see Ancient Monuments in Bengal, pp.460-62, where almost the same description of the bridge is given.

3. Marshall, p.77. According to Buchanan the bridge was built by Ikhtiyar Khan around 250 years ago (Bihar and Patna, I,p.76). Actually Ikhtiyar Khan was the agent (vakil) of Said Khan the governor of Bihar (1584-88, 1594-1600) and said to have constructed many sarāīs and bridges in Bihar see Ma'āsir-al Umarā, II,pp.429-37).

Another stone bridge at Kalianpur had 3 arches, and a small watch-house at each side of the bridge.[1] Marshall saw a bridge which was under construction near Garhi.[2]

Buchanan refers to a ruined bridge near Munger as the "largest which I have yet seen in the course of my survey." This was built by Prince Shuja when he was in Bihar (around 1658).[3]

The other bridges of importance were on Pun-Pun in Fatuha,[4] Telhara,[5] near Gobinddas Ki sarai[6] and the one in Munger Fort.[7]

The temporary bridges of boats (pantoon bridge) etc. were also erected by the royal army at the time of expeditions.[8]

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1. Ibid., p.123.
2. Ibid., pp. 119-20.
3. EI, II, p.48.
4. Buchanan, Bihar and Patna, I, p.76.
5. Ancient Monuments in Bengal, p.270.
6. Marshall, p.115.
7. Marshall, p.123.
8. See A.K.M. Farooque, op.cit., pp. 41-44.

One such bridge was erected in 1583 by the soldiers of Khan-i Azam over the Ganges about 12 kos from Tirhut.[1]

S a r ā i s:

Sarāīs played an important role in trade and commerce. A large number of sarāīs were built on all the important routes *and commercial centres to provide rest and halting.*[2] *In* Bihar, particularly on the Agra-Patna-route, there were a number of saráîs.[3]

Patna, the chief commercial town of Bihar, had a number of sarāis for the stay of merchants of different nations. Saif Khan's saráî in Patna was the largest. Mundy writes: "Here is also the fairest sarae (sarâi) that I have yett seen or I think is in India ..... This place is chiefly for merchants of straynge countries, as Mogolls, Persians, Armenians where they may lodge and keepe their goods.[4]"

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1. Askari, 'Bihar in the time of Akbar', BPP, Vol.LXV, Jan.-Dec., 1945, No.128, p.22.

2. Manucci, I, p.116. Also see Ravindra Kumar, Sarais in Mughal India (M.Phil.dissertation, AMU, Aligarh, unpublished).

3. Mundy, II, pp.78-134; Tavernier, I,pp.113-121; Marshall, pp. 117,159-60.

4. Mundy, II, p.159.

There was a large fortified sarāi at Daudnagar to give shelter to merchants; it was surrounded by a rampart of brick, with battlements and bastion and had two large gates.[1] Marshall en route from Rajmahal to Patna noticed a very big sarāi at Burhjangal where customs on merchandise from Bengal were cleared. Describing the town, Marshall wrote:

> "Tis close by the river Ganges and almost all surrray (sarāi, inn). I believe there are 200 severall roomes in it, every room esteemed enough for 4 persons, who pay for one night lodging in it 1 pice or 1/28 rupee amongst them. The sarai is all thatched and the roomes like hogties. The ground on which the surrray (stands) is let to the natives who built upon it. My land lady paid for the roome in which I lodged, and for 4 more, 5 pice per month. The 5 roomes in all about 400 square yards.[2]"

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1. Tavernier, I,p.121. Ancient Monuments in Bengal, pp. 334-35. EI, I,p.107. Buchanan had a doubt 'whether it was a stronghold.' Actually in the Mughal times it was conventional to make such fortified sarais for security purposes. See Ravindra Kumar, 'Planning and Layout of Mughal Sarais', PIHC, 38th Session,1977, pp. 360-61.

2. Marshall, p. 117.

It seems that the place was of no commercial importance, but because of the custom clearnace, merchants made their sojourn there. A number of sarāis were built to provide food and lodging facilities to the merchants which sometimes grew into small townships. The people who managed sarāis belonged to a special caste called bhatiyāras. It was reported in 1812-13 that there were 200 families of Inn keepers (bhatiyāras) in Shahabad.[1]

The routes from Patna to Hugli and Patna to Nepal also were dotted with a number of sarāis.[2] (For a detailed list of sarāis in Bihar, see Appendix).

(iv) Mode of Transport and Freight:

The main mode of land transport for commercial goods was the ox-driven cart.[3] Oxen and horses without carts were also used at Patna for taking goods to Agra.[4] An ox could carry 4 maunds and a cart 40 maunds. The oxen, which draw carts, could travel 20 or 30 days without break, covering

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1. Buchanan, Shahabad Report, p.181.
2. Ibid., pp. 111-127, 161.
3. EF, 1618-21, pp. 191, 256, 283-84.
4. Marshall, p. 425.

20 - 25 miles per day. The price of the oxen was 4 or 5 rupees per pair.[1] Oxen were also used between Balasore and Patna.[2] There is no evidence, however, of horse-drawn carriages for commercial purposes in Bihar. During the 14th-15th centuries in Bihar, slaves were purchased for specific purposes e.g., to work as coolies and this was mentioned in the sale deeds also.[3] In the 16th and 17th centuries, the coolies were also used for carrying goods for long distances.[4]

In 1620, the charges of transport by cart between Patna and Agra were Rs. 1 1/2 to 1 3/4 per maund during ordinary days,[5] but Rs. 2 per maund (Jahangiri) during the rains.[6] In 1621, transportation became slightly expansive, that is, Rs. 2 1/2 per Jahāngīrī man.[7] At times, there was an agreement for delivering the goods within the prescribed period with a deduction of 25% in case of failure to do so.[8]

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1. Marshall, p.377.
2. EF, 1655-60, p.297. EF, 1668-69, p.303.
3. Cf. Vidyapati, Likhnowali, ed. Indrakant Jha, p.45.
4. Banarsidas, Ardhakatha, pp.31-35; Marshall, pp.111, 425-26.
5. EF, 1618-21, pp.191, 256; IA, 1914, p.82.
6. IA, 1914, p.78.
7. Ibid., p. 110.
8. Ibid., p.78.

In 1670-71, between Patna and Agra, an ox which would carry 4 maunds, was let for 12 rupees, and a coach (with 6 oxen) with a capacity of 40 maund was charged 80 rupees, while a coach with two oxen 22 rupees. A horse was let for 10 rupees, while the coolies (who accompanied the palanquin) charged in all 6 1/2 rupees per pieces.[1] The charges of the kahārs (palanquin bearers) and the men who accompanied the palanquin as coolies were Rs. 5 per head for the same distance.[2]

From Patna to Bhutan, oxen, camels, and hill ponies were used as far as Gorakhpur. On hilly routes, women carried people on their back and goods were laoded on goats or sheep. The rates were Rs. 2 per woman for 10 days journey and the same amount for one quintal of goat or sheep load.[3] Hovhannes in 1686 refers to the use of yaks (he calls it cow) as pack animals on the hills.[4]

Most of the goods for Hugli were transported over the Ganges.[5] In fact, the Patna-Hugli river route was a very busy one. Manrique at Rajmahal saw more than two

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1. Marshall, pp. 425-26.
2. Ibid., p. 111.
3. Tavernier, II, pp. 262-64.
4. The Ledger, p. 159.
5. EF, 1618-21, pp. 197, 213-14; Ibid., 1651-54; p.95; Ibid., 1655-60, p.297.

thousand vessels at anchor.[1] A number of boats laden with diverse goods which left Agra for Hugli also passed through Patna.[2]

The variety of boats operating in this region have been mentioned in the contemporary literature.[3] Hamilton has given an account of boats carrying saltpetre from Patna to Hugli. They were fifty yards long, five yards broad and two and a half yards deep, and could carry about 200 tonnes of load.[4] They were probably 'Patellas' referred to by Bowrey, having a capacity to carry four to six thousand Bengal maunds.[5] On one occasion, in 1679, a fleet of 31 boats laden with 29,890 mds. of saltpetre was sent by the English from Patna to Hugli.[6]

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1. Manrique, II, p.135.

2. Fitch, Early Travels, ed. Foster, pp. 18-26.

3. Cf. Bowrey, pp.227-229 (and plates XIII and XV); Marshall, p.79. See A. Jan Qaisar, 'Shipbuilding in the Mughal Empire during the Seventeenth Century', The Indian Economic and Social History Review, vol.5, 1968, pp.156-58. As many as 29 types of boats are mentioned in the 16th century literature of Bihar, cf. R.K.Chaudhuary, Mithila & c., p.199.

4. Hamilton, p.414.

5. Bowrey, p.225; Marshall, p.83. Also see, Jagdish Narain Sarkar, Studies in Economic Life & c., pp.87-88. For different types of boats see the Chapter on Crafts and Industries (supra).

6. Cf. S.Master, II, p.275.

The river transport was speedy and took far less time than the land.[1] Another advantage was that the river transport was always cheap.[2] Though we have no evidence regarding the river freight rates in this region, an idea may be formed by the report of the English factors in 1650 saying that the saltpetre cost 1 rupee per maund at Patna but was raised to 1 3/4 rupees at Hugli because of freight and custom.[3]

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1. It took five or six days from Patna to the Bengal ports but while coming back against the current it took thrice the time, EF, 1618-21, p.214. On the other hand, it took 20 days by land from Hugli to Patna. Marshall, pp.111-127. Maurique travelled in about from Patna to Agra in five days while by road it was 35 days Journey.

2. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p.63.

3. EF, 1646-50, p.337.

C H A P T E R X

PERSONNEL OF TRADE AND COMMERCIAL PRACTICES

We have already discussed the extent of trade and commerce in the sūba of Bihar. Such large-scale trading activities must have involved a number of fairly especialised groups namely, merchants, money-lenders, brokers, sarrāfs, etc.

Merchants from many parts of the world and different regions of India flocked to Patna, the main commercial centre of the province. They may broadly be divided into three main categories: (a) Indian; (b) merchants from other Asian countries and (c) European.

The Indian merchants trading in this region were mainly the Vaishyas and Jains.[1] A good number of merchants came from Agra[2] and Bengal; other Indian merchants also visited Patna markets from such distant places as Tipperah;[3]

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1. See Surendra Gopal, "Social Attitude of Indian Trading Communities in the Seventeenth Century", Essays in Honour of Professor S.C.Sarkar, p. 194. Also see Graff's description of Mongyr Market in C.E.A.U. Oldhem, "Description of Monghyr Fort", p.160, where he mentions that 'Hindus deal here in all sorts of merchandise'.

2. Banarsi Das, Ardh Katha, p.13.

3. Tavernier, II, p.273.

Kashmir and Surat etc. In Bihar, large number of Indian merchants, called banjāras, travelled from place to place trading chiefly in grain. They played a very important role in the local and regional trade.[1]

Among the non-European merchants, the Armenians carried good business at Patna.[2] They had settled in Patna and at other places. Hovhannes refers to one Master Petros, Khachik (ron of Master Grigor), Chakuch Hakobjan, Merrat, Petras (grand son of Kachat Tsatoor) and Vartanas (son of Stepan) as prominent among them.[3] In Patna they had a separate halting place hired by Master Petros.[4] The town of Bihar also had a colony of the Armenians with a church of their own.[5] In 1608, Latif found many Iraqi and Khurasani tradesmen in Bihar who had settled down there.[6] The 'Moguls[7]

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1. For a rebellion by the banjaras in the last decade of the 17th century, see S.H.Askari, Bihar in the time of Aurangzeb", JBRS, Vol.32, pt.II, 1946, pp.165,166,169.

2. Tavernier, II, p.261; Manucci, II, p.84.

3. The Ledges of Hovhannes, p.159.

4. Ibid., p. 162.

5. Ibid., p. 162.

6. "Travels in Bihar", 1608 A.D. Dr.J.N. Sarkar, JBORS, Vol.5, op.cit., p.599. Also see Q.Ahmad, Inscriptions, pp. 282-83.

7. IA, 1914, p.73.

and 'Bhutanese'[1] also thronged to Bihar for trade. Hughes in 1620 wrote from Patna : "Mogals and 'Praychaes' are here like bees".[2] The Jews also traded in Bihar.[3] Sometimes the merchants prefered to move from place to place in a caravan. Hovhannes joined a caravan from Agra to Patna and again from Kathmandu to Patna.[4] Joining a carvan provided safety and security on highways, and if there was any need, they could hire guards jointly. Hovhannes and his "Jew companions employed 12 mounted armed guards on their way from Nepal to Patna.[5]

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to visit the Bihar markets who traded through the ports of Hugli and Pipli.[6] The English followed them much later. The first English commercial mission was sent to Patna in 1620,[7] but this was abandoned soon. Again, in 1632, Peter Mundy was

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1. Tavernier, II, p.258.
2. EF, 1618-21, p.195 (Praychees = merchants from Western India?).
3. The Ledger of Hovhannes, p.159.
4. Ibid., pp. 158-59, 162.
5. Ibid., p. 162.
6. EF, pp. 195, 213-14.
7. EF, 1618-21, p.191.

sent for a short period to Bihar by the English Company. However, regular commercial activities of the English merchants started after 1650. Besides the English Company, individual English and French merchants also conducted their own private trade in Bihar.[1]

The Dutch in 1638 obtained the right to buy saltpetre, cloth and other wares from Patna, and, in 1642, an Imperial farmān granted the Company freedom from tolls on the roads and waterways connecting Bengal with Agra.[2] By the last quarter of the 17th century, the French also had penetrated into the markets of Bihar. In 1693, they succeeded in obtaining a farmān from Aurangzeb permitting them to trade in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.[3] We find the Italians also taking part in the Bihar commerce during the 17th century.[4] In the 18th century the Scots, Irish, German and Italians maintained their factories in Bihar.[5]

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1. EF, 1651-54, p.193; The Ledger of Hovhannes, p.159.
2. T.R.Chaudhuri, Jan Company, op.cit., p.77.
3. Cf. Bhattacharya, East India Company & c., p.82.
4. EF, 1622-23, p.42.
5. Ghoshal, 'Tirhut', op.cit., p. 373.

The smaller merchants had their shops in small towns, or they went from place to place buying and selling different commodities.[1] Mundy in 1632 found 200 grocers or druggists in Patna.[2] According to a report of the Collector of Bhagalpur by the end of the 18th century, the number of beoparies (retail dealers) in Bhagalpur, Calgong, Curruckpur, Munger and Surajgarh was 1022, 198, 591, 478 and 80 respectively.[3] However, the smaller merchant's activities were confined within the sūba.

There were comparatively bigger merchants who dealt in inter-regional trade. The Iraqi merchants of Aurangabad (in Shahabad) did business in cotton and grain with Amravati (Madhya Pradesh).[4] Merchants from Agra and Jaunpur had commercial contacts with Banaras and Patna,[5] while those from Tipperah, Bhutan, Kashmir and Nepal also made investments on moderate scale.

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1. Oldham, 'Monghyr Fort', op.cit., p.160.
2. Mundy, II, p.157.
3. Cf. K.K.Basu, 'Trade of Bhagalpur', JBRS, 1943, vol.29, pt. 1 & 2, pp. 105-106.
4. Cf. Q. Ahmad, Inscriptions, pp. 282-83.
5. Banarsi Das, Ardh Katha, p.13.

Large dealings were done by the English, Dutch, Portuguese, Armenian, French, "Mogul" and a few Indian merchants. Many of these big merchants were engaged in overseas trade. Since the extent of the English and Dutch commercial activities have already been discussed, we will confine ourselves to the working of their companies.

The English Company had its head-office in England. In India, they had regional headquarters at various places. In the early stage, Patna was subordinate to Agra. In 1657, the Company decided to group all their eastern establishments under one President and Council at Surat with four branches viz., the Coromandal coast, Bengal, Persia and Bantam, each under an agent and Council. The factories comprising the Bengal agency consisted of Hugli (the head station), Balasore, Patna and Qasimbazar.[1]

The English factory at Patna was considered very important since Bihar supplied saltpetre, cloth and opium. It had warehouses at a number of places in the province, namely Singhee,[2] Fatuha,[3] Nangarh, Hajipur etc.[4] The importance

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1. EF, 1655-60, p.142.

2. Marshall, pp. 23, 78; Master, II, pp. 89-90.

3. Bhattacharya, op.cit., p. 152.

4. Marshall, pp. 23-24; EF, 1661-64, p.287; Master, II, pp. 89-90.

of the Patna factory is clear from the fact that Ken in 1662 was appointed the chief at Patna ranking second to Hugli,[1] while Charnock in 1664 agreedto stay in India only on the condition that he be appointed the chief of the Patna factory.[2] The commodities collected at various warehouses were either sent to Patna or directly to Hugli for outward transportation.

The Dutch factory also worked on similar lines. They had their warehouses at Patna,[3] Chapra,[4] Jahanabad[5] and Lalganj (Muzaffarpur).[6]

Coming to the individual merchants, the Aremenians were quite rich traders. An Armenian, Khwaja Safar, once purchased clothes worth thirty thousand rupees.[7] The "Moguls" and the Armenians invested ten hundred thousand of rupees per annum in cloth.[8] At times, individual merchants also

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1. EF, 1661-64, pp. 150-51, 288.
2. Ibid., pp. 392-93.
3. Bowrey, p.225. Oldham, op.cit., p. 157.
4. Tavernier, p.12.
5. EI, I, p.106.
6. Ancient Monuments in Bengal, pp. 406-407. The building of the Dutch here has been described as the oldest European residence in these parts.
7. Manucci, II, p.84.
8. Wilson, I, p.379.

worked for the English Company. In 1694, the Armenian merchant, Khoja Phenous Calender, made an agreement with the Company in London to provide them with commodities from Patna.[1] All these merchandise were to be procured by the Armenian with his own money and deliver them to the Company at Calcutta or Hugli for which he was allowed 15 per cent upon the prime cost and all other necessary charges. Mathuradas, an Indian merchant from Bengal, was perhaps the only treder who took part in overseas commercial activities. He maintained a gomāshta (agent) at Patna to procure large amount of commodities for export.[2] Benarsi Seth was another big merchant who had his agents at Hugli, Calcutta and Patna. In 1714, he is said to have purchased all the broad clothes from the English Company and sent them to Patna, Hugli, etc.[3]

It is generally believed that the share of the English and Dutch Companies was the largest in the total trade of Bihar because the contemporary records of these companies are available, while records kept by the individual traders

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1. S.Chaudhuri, p.131.

2. Ibid., pp. 90-91. The Armenian Merchant Hovhannes in 1688 also supplied some goods to the English Company through Phenas Calender (See The Ledger, pp.162-63).

3. Chaudhuri, p. 112.

are hard to come by. But on an analysis of the stray references regarding the activities of individual merchants, it seems that the European share was quite small in the total commerce of Bihar. For example, Hughes reported in 1620 that 1000 pieces of 'ambartee' calicoes were daily taken from the looms and the season lasted for 3 or 4 months.[1] Thus the total production was around 90,000 or 1,20,000 pieces out of which the English factors were able to procure 20,000 (only if Rs. 50,000 were supplied) pieces per year,[2] that is, 22.2 or 16%, but actually they purchased only 2000 in 1620 and 5,000 in 1621.[3] Hughes himself concedes that the purchases made by the "Moguls", the Armenians and Portuguese were comparatively much larger. Even during the second half of the 17th century, the Armenians and "Moguls" were dominating the cloth market with large purchases.[4] However, the saltpetre trade appears to be largely taken over by the English Companies.

Commercial Practices:

The practice of trading in partnership was prevalent in Bihar. Even during the 14th and 15th centuries, the rules and regulations regarding sajha (partnership) system

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1. EF, 1618-21, p. 198.
2. Ibid., p. 205.
3. IA, 1914, pp. 77, 104.
4. Manucci, II, p.84; Wilson, I, p.379.

were formulated by the State.[1] In case of shortage of funds, merchants entered into partnerships: Banarsi Das, the author of Ardh Katha, formed such a partnership in 1605-06 with Narottam Das and his father-in-law for trade at Patna.[2]

The brokers or dallās, a specialised merchantile community, played an important role in commerce during the medieval period by acting as middlemen between the sellers and the buyers. In fact, they were indispensable due to the nature and organisation of trade. The foreign merchants, who were unaquainted with the centres of production, pettern of marketing and language had to depend on the native brokers for their trading transactions.[3] Patna, the chief marketing centre of the eastern region, was capable of accommodating large number of brokers. Manrique in 1640 reported that there were over six hundred brokers and middlemen engaged in commerce at Patna and that most of them were wealthy men.[4] The brokers had a specialised job and hence there

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1. Indra Kant Jha, 'Mithila ka Vyapar', op.cit.,pp.387-88.
2. Banarsi Das, Ardh Katha, pp. 31,35,37.
3. Cf. A.Jan Qaisar, 'The Role of Brokers', op.cit.,p.223.
4. Manrique, Travels, II,p.140. Also see A.Jan Qaisar, 'The Role of Brokers', p. 240.

were separate brokers for different commodities. Mundy asked the brokers at Patna to supply him with 'amberty' Calicoes, but since the samples brought by them were not found fit, Ganga Ram, the chief broker for coarse cloth in the whole region, was contacted for the purpose.[1] Again, one Chaudhary Faqira (who according to Mundy was the most suitable person to perform this business) was asked to act as middleman for the disposal of quicksilver and vermilion.[2] Similarly, there were separate brokers dealing in silk[3] and saltpetre.[4]

In the early stage of the English Company's trade, there is no reference to the employing of a broker at Patna by the Company. But in the second half ofthe 17th century, such references are available. Ganga Ram, for example, was the broker of the Company at Patna in 1661.[5] In 1713, when the English Company was planning to wind up their establishment in Patna, heavy retrenchment followed but their broker

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1. Mundy, II, pp. 145-46.

2. Ibid., pp. 146-47.

3. EF, 1618-21, pp. 194-95.

4. EF, 1668-69, p. 303.

5. EF, 1661-64, p.69. For detailed information regarding the employment and commission of brokers in the 17th century, see Qaisar, 'The Role of Brokers & c", pp. 232-238.

Perance was considered indispensable and was retained on a salary of Rs. 15 per month.[1]

The manner and rates of brokerage varied for different goods. The brokerage on all sorts of silk stuffs by the order of the Governor of Bihar was 5 ànnas (5/16/per cent) from the buyers and 10 ānnas (5/8 per cent) from the seller, but the broker usually charged 1/2% from the buyer and 1% from the seller.[2] For brokerage on cloth, the brokers were not to take any thing from the buyer but only from the seller: their share was half a pice per rupee.[3] In the case of brown cloth (raw cloth), the method slightly differed; the brokers enhanced the price of each piece by 5 pice, of this, the broker's share was 2 pice and that of the governor or shiqdār 2 pice; the remaining one pice was returned to the merchant whereby the buyer paid nothing.[4] This brings to light a very striking fact that the state was also having a share in the brokerage though it is difficult to establish its extent in other trades.

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1. Wilson, II, pt. I, p.152.
2. EF, 1618-21, p.194.
3. EF, 1618-21, p.195.
4. Ibid., p.205. Also see Qaisar, 'The Role of Brokers & c', p. 233.

Besides helping their clients in procuring and selling goods, the brokers also played a key role in the organisation of production. Most of the money advanced to the artisans were made through brokers.[1] In Bihar, money advances for cotton, silk and saltpetre were made chiefly through the brokers.[2]

From the account of Hovhannes it appears that the brokers also got a share at the custom house. When Hovhannes came to Patna from Lhaṣa, he had with him goods worth Rs. 22,198. On this he paid customs amounting to Rs. 889.46. Out of this Rs. 44 went to the dallāl (more than 5% on the custom paid). It is not clear from the account whether the broker was employed by Houhannes or he was a regular broker of the custom house engaged by the state.

Another important aspect of commerce was that of the credit system. Apart from cash payments, credit and payment through bills of exchange were prevalent. Unsafe trade routes were one of the main reasons why the merchants used "bills of exchange" rather than cash remittance, without in any way hampering the trade.[4]

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1. See Qaisar, op.cit., p. 228.
2. See Chapter III (supra).
3. The Ledger of Hovhannes, pp. 171-72.
4. Letters Received, Vol.VI, p.131; EF, 1637-41, p.262; Tavernier, I, pp. 33-34.

There was a separate merchantile group of the sarrāfs who issued hundis or letters of credit. Some big merchants were also involved in large-scale money lending.[1] We get references to a number of sarrāfs dealing with transactions between Patna and Agra. In 1620, 'Champsey' (Chandan Sahai Sah) is reported as the chief banker of Patna, while his son was a banker at Agra.[2] Prag Das and his son were also operating at the two places, Agra and Patna.[3] Bhairon Das, Sundar Maya Das, Man Mukund, Bishehswhwar and Gauhar Shah also enjoyed good reputation.[4] Another important sarrāf at Patna in the later period was Churmull.[5] Some big merchants of Bengal had their gomāshtas (agents) at Patna through whom transactions were executed.[6] Buchanan in 1810-11 found 24 big bankers at Patna who employed agents at Calcutta, Banaras, Murshidabad, Dacca, Bombay, Lucknow, Madras and even in Nepal.[7] Due to brisk commercial activities, the sarrāfs from

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1. See Irfan Habib, 'Usury in Medieval India', Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol.VI, 1963-64, p.406.
2. EF, 1618-21, p.198; IA, 1914, p.75.
3. IA, 1914, p.75.
4. Ibid., pp. 75, 99,100.
5. EF, 1651,-54, p.193.
6. S.Chaudhuri, pp.82, 119. Fateh Chand, for example, was such a big merchant. In 1732, letters of credit for Rs. 1,50,000 were procured on Fateh Chand's factory at Patna (Bhattacharya, p.115).
7. EI, I, pp. 380-81.

distant places came and settled at Patna. The founder of the famous Jagat Seth family of Calcutta, Hiranand Sah (1652), came from Nagar in Marwar to Patna and established himself there.[1]

Very huge sums could be transferred through bills of exchange with safety to distant places. Muqarrab Khan, the governor of Bihar, while leaving the place, delivered Rs. 3,00,000 to the sarrāfs at Patna to be paid to him at Agra.[2] Similarly, hundis amounting to one lakh of rupees were brought to the son of Prag Das, a sarrāf at Patna.[3] In 1714 the English Company remitted Rs. 1 lakh from Bengal.[4]

It seems that the insecurity of high ways had reached to such an extent during Aurangzeb's reign that the revenue from Bengal and Bihar was sent by hundis as a routine. Such transactions took a long time; therefore, Prince Azim Ushan, the than governor of Bihar, was advised to send the major part of the revenue in carts with heavy security, and the rest through the hundis.[5]

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1. J.H.Little, 'The House of Jagat Seth', BPP, Vol.20, Jan-June, 1920, No.39-40, p.115.
2. EF, 1618-21, p.236.
3. IA, 1914, p.75.
4. Wilson, II, pt.I, p.193.
5. Cf. S.H.Askari, "Bihar in the time of Aurangzeb", JBRS, Vol.32, pt. II, 1946, pp. 177-78.

The commission or discount charged on these hundis was different from place to place, depending on the distance between the two places the safety of the route and the quantum of the money in the market. The usual commission between Agra and Patna was 1.7/8 to 2% in 1620-21.[1] More than 60 years later in 1686, Hovhannes paid remittance from Agra to Patna at the rate of 1.27%.[2] In March 1621, the exchange rate on bills drawn at Patna on Agra altered from 98 1/8 Rs. "Noris" to 98 1/4% Rs. sikka against Rs. 100 hundi payable at Agra. This fall was due to the delivering of Rs.3,00,000/- by Muqarrab Khan, the outgoing governor of Bihar, for payment at Agra.[3] Similarly, fluctuations in rates occurred due to the commodities which came to the market at one place and were sold at another. John Kenn gives an interesting report of this mechanism of exchange in 1661:[4]

"To pay money in Cassumbazar and receive it in Pattana, upon bills of exhcnage a month after date, always yields proffit. I have known it from 1 to 6 per cent, when the silk w sells well at Agra, the produce is usually sent to

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1. EF, 1618-21, pp. 236, 248.
2. The Ledger of Hovhannes, p. 174.
3. EF, 1618-21, p. 236.
4. Cf. Wilson, I, p. 376.

Cassumbazar in money overland, which is the reason that when great sums of money come from thence the exchange of money to Pattana in one day doth sometimes fall 2 1/2 to 3 per cent."

The reason for such fluctuations, as suggested by Irfan Habib, was 'that a sudden spurt of payments in any direction might create pressures upon the sarrāfs for cash at one place, while leaving more in their hands at another, a situation that they could only rectify by discouraging remittances from the former to the latter and encouraging reverse remittance by modifying the exchange rates.[1]'

The exchange rate for the hundis at Patna drawn upon Surat was 7 to 8 per cent. The Hundis intended for Surat from Patna were first on Agra, and later from Agra or to Surat, the whole amounting to the above stated sum.[2]

The hundi itself specified whether it was payable on sight or payable at the end of a particular period after its presentation to the drawee.[3]

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1. Irfan Habib, 'The System of Bills of Exchange (hundis) in the Mughal Empire', PIHC, 1972, p.293.

2. Tavernier, I,p.36. If we add the rates given by Hughes for Patna-Agra (1.7/8-2%) with Tavernier's for Agra-Surat (4 1/2 to 5%), Ibid., p.36) the total comes near to 7 to 8%, here mentioned for Patna-Surat.

3. Irfan Habib, 'Bills of Exchange', op.cit., p.295.

In 1621, Hughes wrote from Patna to the factors at Agra that while the hundis were of 40 days bandye mudat (بندمدّت), the hundis themselves were made out for 45 days. He requested that the period should be twice seven (= 14) days "ber bust" (bar bast, customary); this would save the Patna factors much in "deheig", especially if a speedy 'Cassad' (messanger) was employed, the last two qāsidṣ having been made it in 11 days.[1] The meaning of 'deheig' is not clear. Irfan Habib suggests that it seems to mean the interest or discount paid for cashing the hundi before the date.[2] He adds that if the period before the date of maturity of the hundi was counted for the date of issue, the speed of the qāsidṣ would have been immaterial, so long as they arrived before the due date. It could only have significance if the period after which the drawee had to pay was counted from the date he had sight of the hundi. Thus, in the case of the hundis mentioned by Hughes, the actual period before payment became due must at least have been 11 + 45 days.[3]

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1. EF, 1618-21, pp. 247-48.
2. Irfan Habib, 'Bills of Exchange', op.cit., p. 295.
3. Ibid., p. 295.

Usury:

Besides the sarrāfs, there were others whose main business was money-lending. They were called sahs or sāhukars. The sarrāfs, besides issuing hundis, also advanced loan on interest. The rates of interest in the whole of Bengal region was high when compared to the other parts of India. Even during the 14th-15th centuries, the rate of interest was 2% per month.[1] Hughes in 1620-21 could get loans on quite moderate terms i.e., 3/4 per cent per month (9% per annum).[2] The rate of interest expressed for the month suggests that the loans were generally for short periods.[3] It seems that the interest rates further increased after 1650s. Consequently, the Patna factors were asked not to take loans unless it was absolutely necessary and that too for saltpetre only.[4] The Patna factory during this period was generally provided with money from other factories. In 1679, the Qasimbazar factors took a sum of Rs. 30,000 at 1 1/4 per cent per month from Sukhanand Shah and sent the amount to Patna.[5] On another occasion, Rs. 20,000 were

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1. R.K.Chaudhary, Mithila, op.cit., pp. 201-202.
2. EF, 1618-21, p. 196.
3. Irfan Habib, 'Usury in Medieval India', op.cit., pp. 402-403.
4. EF, 1646-50, p. 337.
5. S.Chaudhuri, p. 116.

sent from Qasimbazar in 1679.[1] The supply of money from outside indicates that the interest rates at Patna were even more than 15% per annum, while the rates for the corresponding period for Madras (8% p.a.) and Surat (9% p.a.) were much less.[2] If it was so, it is difficult to explain this high rate of interest in Bihar.

Full legal protection was extended to the money-lenders, and the disputes regarding loans were decided in secular courts. In 1659, the English factor, Blake, while leaving Patna in 1659, sold bills of debt of Shah Shuja' to the amount of 6,000 rupees to some merchants there. Shuja' fled from Bengal and the merchants being unable to realise the money from him, approached the English factors for payment who refused to pay anything. The merchants thereupon approached the governor of Patna who forced the English factors to pay the money.[3]

Manucci (1663) refers to an interesting practice of declaring oneself dīwāla or bankrupt. The practice was to put dīwālīs (= dipawalis = oil lamps) at the door ofthe person who intended to announce his bankruptcy.[4] In this

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1. S.Master, II, p.276.
2. S.Chaudhuri, p.116.
3. EF, 1668-69, p. 177.
4. Manucci, II, p.84.

connection, it is interesting to note that the bankfrupts of Patna were famous throughout the region and it became the theme of a common proverb in Bihar.[1]

It appears that the state had some sort of control over certain commodities. It outhorised merchants to have their monopoly, as was the case with candles. Hovhannes in Patna noted: "The sale of candles here is patented by a shopkeeper and candle is sold in accordance with the price he fixed.[2]"

Hovhannes also informs us about the rate of profit on certain things which he purchased in Bihar and sold in Nepal and Lhaṣa.[3] On some cloths he earned a profit of more than 100%. The Chinese sugar that he bought at Patna was sold by him in Nepal for a profit of 137%; on some other articles of Patna he gained a profit of 132%. These rates of profit have been calculated on the basis of the difference in purchase and sale-price, excluding the expenses incurred in travelling, custom and transportation.

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1. Grierson, p.423. The proverb runs as follows: Bhagalpur Ke Bhageliya, Kahalgaon ke thag, Patna Ke diwaliya, tino namjad.

2. The Ledger, pp. 168-69.

3. Ibid., p. 168.

C H A P T E R XI

ADMINISTRATION AND TRADE

It is true that land revenue constituded a substantial part of the total income of the Mughal empire; nonetheless, income derived from taxes imposed upon trading activities, though comparatively not considerable, was never ignored by the Mughals. Numerous contemporary documents, both foreign and indigenous, relating to trade and commerce during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, are themselves an index of the Empire's concern in this direction.

Here we shall examine briefly the policy of the Mughal state towards trade and commerce and the actions of administrative officers in the sūba of Bihar.

From a number of contemporary records, it appears that for undertaking any trading activity in Mughal territories the merchants required some sort of sanction from the state. In order to transport goods through or unpack marketable goods at any major administrative centre under the direct control of state or a jāgīrdār, it was necessary to procure the permission of a government official or some one else authorised by the jāgīrdār. The policy of the Mughal state was to encourage commercial activities which is borne out by a number of farmāns, nishāns and parwānas issued from

time to time throughout the 17th century giving facilities and concessions to private merchants and the European Trading Companies.[1] However, the enforcement of policy often lagged behind the ideals : the governors and the rank and file of the Mughal administration implemented the state policies to some extent only according to their own whims, leading to personal pecuniary gains.

The main reason for administrative interference in trade was the absence of any legal ban on private trade by the state officials (from nobles to petty officers) during the 17th century. This lacuna in the state policy was the origin of all sorts of irregularities committed by the functionaries of the state. As a result, we find the governors and officers trying to monopolise certain branches of trade, especially those which yielded them quick profits. The most significant aspect of this monopoly business was the 'abuse of powers' by the authorities to achieve their trading goals through non-economic coercion.

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1. See Farmāns, Nishāns and Parwānas, (rotograph, Department of History, AMU, Aligarh). Add. 24039 The first English commercial mission to Patna was received with great enthusiasm by the then governor of Bihar, Muqarrab Khan. He made arrangements for them to settle down with ease at the new place. Muqarrab Khan asked the English factors to get some luxury items for him which were supplied by the English factors. Moreover, the governor always paid 'good price: (The English Factories, 1618-21, pp. 191-92, 199, 201, 246).

Instead of fair commercial competition between the officers and merchants, there was often sheer exploitation by those who were in power.

We find members of the ruling family, governors and other officials engaged in trade in Bihar during the period under review. A few examples are called for here to establish what I have said above.

In the 1640s, Prince Shuja, the governor of Bengal, tried to monopolise trade in the region.[1] Lutfullah Beg, the dīwān of Patna in the 1660s, made an attempt to monopolise the saltpetre trade and asked the saltpetremen not to supply any quantity to the Dutch.[2] Similarly, the English trade in Bengal and Bihar faced a severe setback with the appointment of Mir Jumla as governor of Bengal in 1659. The main reason for this was that Mir Jumla himself was involved in large scale commercial activities.[3] The English company had to make an agreement with him in 1660 to receive all their saltpetre supply through him.[4]

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1. T.R.Chaudhuri, Jan Company in Coromandel, 1605-1690, p.77.
2. EF, 1661-64, pp. 69-71.
3. EF, 1655-60, pp. 275, 280-81, 293.
4. Jagdish Narain Sarkar, Life of Mir Jumla, the General of Aurangzeb, p. 216.

Shaista Khan, the governor of Bengal from 1664 to 1688 (except 1677-80), took part in all branches of trade. In 1664, he sent his agents to Patna with orders to prevent the English and Dutch from advancing any money to the saltpetremen on the pretext that the commodity was required for the "king's war."[1] Finally, he entered into an agfeement to supply as much saltpetre to the English Company as they wanted with the condition that the English Company in return would sell all their goods and silver to him on the prices fixed by his agent.[2] In 1677, when Shaista Khan left Bengal, his accumulated treasure was around 38 crores of rupees; and his daily income was estimated to be Rs. 2 lakhs.[3]

Shaista Khan's son, Buzurg Umed Khan, the governor of Bihar, was involved in extensive overseas trade.[4] His main attempt was to monopolise the opium trade.[5] Similarly, Prince Azimushshan also set up large-scale trade in saltpetre in 1699.[6]

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1. EF, 1661-64, p.395.
2. Ibid.
3. The Diaries of Streynsham Master, Vol.I, p.493.
4. Susil Chaudhuri, op.cit., p. 92.
5. Om Prakash, 'The European Trading Companies and the Merchants of Bengal', IESHR, Vol.I, No.3, Jan-March, 1964, p.56.
6. Susil Chaudhri, op.cit., p. 166.

These attempts on the part of Princes, governors and other high officials seriously incovenienced merchants and adversely affected commercial activities in the sūba. The European companies were compelled to approach the Emperor to get orders for conducting their trade smoothly and without coercion by the officials; they got royal orders for the same.[1]

The state had a network of officials connected with the administration of the sūba, who, in some way or the other, were connected with commercial activities of the sūba. For example, jāgīrdār, karorī, amīn, zamīndār, guzrbāns, faujdār, mutasaddī, mustahfizān, etc.[2] The Armenian merchant, Hovhannes Joughayetsi who was in India from 1682 to 1693 in connection with his commercial pursuits, records the names of a large number of officials connected

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1. There are a large number of such documents in Firmāns, Nishāns and Parwanas, op.cit. The English Company was granted privileges of trade in Bengal and Bihar by Shahjahan in 1638 followed by the grant of Prince Shuja (C.R.Wilson, The Early Annals of the English in Bengal, Vol.I, p.48). Aurangzeb's farmān to the Dutch in 1662 (Master, II, pp. 26-27), was stopped at Patna and Ahmadabad, and the English Company had to approach the Emperor for its release (cf. EF, 1651-54, p.252).

2. Firmāns, Nishāns etc., op.cit., Nos. 13,15 and 19.

with trade and commerce.[1] The names of officers in whose name charges were made at the custom-house are given by Hovhannes: "mootassadi" (mutasaddi),"tafildar" (tahvildar), "moushrouf" (mushrif), "Emin" (amīn), "Daroogh" (dārogha) and "Navisanda" (navīsanda).[2] The mīr bahr was in charge of customs collection at the river custom-ports and it was not possible to carry goods unpaid without his permission.[3]

There were custom-houses on all important river and land-routes throughout the sūba of Bihar. Customs on all goods brought into the sūba, or taken out, were paid at the boundaries, once inside the province, there were smaller posts or chaukīs where duty was levied on internal transit of goods passing through the chaukīs.

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1. Levon Khachikian, 'The Ledger of Merchant Hovhannes Joughayetsi' Journal of the Asiatic Society, Vol.VIII, 1966, No.3, p.173.

2. Ibid., 171, Mutasaddi was a clerk or Accountant, tahvīldar, a cash keeper or treasurer, mushrif was an inspector or examiner or an officer in treasury who authenticated accounts. Amīn was a clerk. Navisinda was a scribe or writer, Dārogha (generally meaning headman of an office or suprintendent) Darogha's position as incharge ofthe land custom house is brought out by the fact that when Hovhannes reached Patna, his goods "were locked in a room as 'Dargougha' had gone to 'Massi no one had the right to unlock the door until he comes back' (Ibid., p.173).

3. John Marshall in India, 1668-72, ed. S.A.Khan, p.97; Master, II, p.292.

On the Agra-Patna route, customs were paid first at Agra.[1] Then there were a number of toll-stations between Agra and Patna. The main custom-house was near Banaras as one crossed the Ganges to enter into the sūba of Bihar.[2] Toll-tax was also charged near Sasaram while crossing the river Son.[3] Generally, there were toll-stations on all the big river crossings.

On the Patna-Hughli route, there was a big custom-house at 'Burajangle' for all goods coming from Bengal and Orissa.[4] Nobody could pass here by land unexamined. The practice here was to put seals on a cloth according to the number of persons.[5] Marshall's remark that any person could pass without a chhāp (seal) from Patna to Rajmahal[6]

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1. Hovhannes, The Ledger, p. 170.

2. Tavernier, Travels in India, 1640-67, Vol.I, p.119.

3. Tavernier, op.cit., p. 120.

4. John Marshal, op.cit., pp. 72,118. He writes "Here a great chowkee; here a gate through which none can pass by land unexamined."

5. Ibid., p.118. When Marshall sent his dastak to the governor he "put upon one of the peon's handkerchers (handkerchief) 21 chops, which were for myself, 6 peons, 8 chahars, (kahars); 4 coolies, with two Doolies (doli, covered litter) and one man with my gun, and 1 cook and three other chaups for my palankeene and 2 doolies."

6. Ibid., p. 118.

suggests that the duty on the goods carried from Patna was charged at some place beyond Burrajangle, most probably at Rajmahal. There were six toll-posts at Rajmahal and it took Manrique nine days to secure customs clearance.[1] From Patna, most of the trade towards Bengal was by river; hence a large number of toll-posts were on the bank of the river Ganges. Between Patna and Monghyr, Manrique had to pass through eighteen toll-posts, making payments at each, though the amount paid was trifling, at some places as little as two paisas.[2]

Between Monghyr and 'Burrajungle', there were many chaukīs noticed by Marshall. "Dellegola" which was 2 miles east of Telliagarhi, had a custom-house.[3] At Telligarhi, there was a custompost. Marshall says, "At this place expected to be asked for my chopt clout, but was not."[4] Next was Pirpainti, a centre of collection for river customs, where an officer called mīr bahr, was stationed.[5] Opposite

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1. F.S.Manrique, Travels, 1629-43, Vol.II, p.135.
2. Ibid., p.138. The chaukī at Monghyr was quite big with sufficient staff. When Manrique tried to avoid the custom checking, his party was caught and punished. (Ibid., pp. 136-37).
3. Marshall, p. 72 & n. 63, p.90.
4. Ibid., pp. 119-20.
5. Ibid., p.97. It seems that Pirpainti being a penth (weekly market) had sufficient traffic of goods; hence a mir bahr was posted here.

"Caushdee", about 16 miles west of Pirpainti, was a chaukī.[1] At Agalpore, there was a toll-station.[2] It appears from the name-Bahachauki-that it was also a toll-station, 24 miles west of Monghyr.[3] Another custom-house was at a distance of two miles from Mar (near Mokameh).[4]

For the merchants trading between Patna and Bhutan, a custom-house was established at Gorakhpur. Before going to Bhutan, merchants were supposed to inform the custom-officer about the commodities they intended to purchase. Their names were put down on a register with the sums they were expected to spend there.[5] On the Patna-Nepal route, customs were charged at Danti, Gankinpur and Hajipur.[6] The main customs charges from the merchants coming from Nepal were taken at Patna.[7]

Customs charges were fixed sums generally expressed in percentage. During Akbar's reign, customs were fixed at

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1. Ibid., p. 73.
2. Ibid., p. 73.
3. Ibid., p.124.
4. Ibid., p. 77.
5. Tavernier, op.cit., Vol.II, pp. 259-60.
6. Ledger, p. 170.
7. Ibid., p. 171.

2 1/2 per cent at ports.[1] Jahangir also ordered that customs duty should not be more than 2 1/2 per cent.[2] Custom charges during the reigns of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb appear to be higher. Prince Shuja' as governor of Bengal issued a parwāna in 1645-47 in favour of the Dutch, permitting them to trade in Bengal imposing a duty of only 4 per cent on all imports and exports.[3] It never exceeded five per cent.[4] Cumstoms from the English Company were often a stipulated sum fixed annually irrespective of the Volume of goods exported and imported. The English Company after 1650 was paying, for a long time, 3000 rupees per annum for their whole eastern trade.[5]

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1. Abul Fazl, Ā'īn-i-Akbarī, pp. 203-04.

2. Jahangir, Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī, p. 417.

3. A.K.M.Farooque, Roads and Communications in Mughal India p.171.

4. Thomas Bowrey, A Geographical Account of Countries Round the Bay of Bengal, 1669 to 1679, pp. 233-34. He found the customs around 5% in the three kingdoms of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

   In 1679, the saltpetre of the English Company was detained at Patna; in the meantime when the factors were trying to get an order from the Emperor for the clearance, they were asked by the governor to deposit 5 per cent of the total value of goods to proceed on (Master, II,pp.273-749; Also see A.K.M.Farooque, op.cit., p. 171).

5. EF, 1661-64, pp.393-94. Also see S.Bhattacharya, The East India Company and the Economy of Bengal from 1704 to 1740, pp. 26-27. In the account books ofthe Patna factory, there is no entry for the customs paid with the expenditure incurred in bringing the goods from Patna to Hugli.

The French who were late commerce to the commercial scene in Bengal and Bihar, found themselves at a disadvantage compared to the Dutch and English, and therefore they approached Aurangzeb who, in 1693, issued a farmān to the French to carry on their trade and commerce throughout the sūbas of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa on the same terms as the Dutch.[1]

Customs charges differed from commodity to commodity. Duty on musk for example, charged at Gorakhpur, was around 25 per cent.[2] The customs between Agra and Patna, even in the early phase of the English Company's trade, was less for the English than for other merchants. Parker in 1621 wrote from Patna; "As you may perceeve by the transports of our last goods from hence, which cost 14 rup(ees) per carte, and since other merchants have paid-200 (sic) rup(ees) per carte, soe that it is nott unrequizite that some English man accompany the goods, by whose presence the greatest part or all may per adventure be saved, which

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1. S.P.Sen, "Farmāns and Parwānas for the Establishment ofthe French", IHRC, XXIII, 1946, p.22. The governor of Bihar, Fedai Khan, also issued a parwanah in 1696 to the same effect (see Ibid., p. 22).

2. Tavernier, II, pp. 259-60.

I shall endeavour."[1] Amber and precious stones to be taken from Agra to Patna (destined for Nepal) were charged at Agra at 4.8 per cent.[2]

The ledger of the Armenian merchant, Hovhannes (1682-93), records the details of customs charged for inland and foreign trade. While starting from Agra for Nepal, he was charged 4.8 per cent for precious stones at Agra itself. On his way upto Patna he paid small sums amount to Rs. 42 on all the goods he was carrying.[3] At Patna, he had to pay for the precious stones worth 8000 rupees at the rate of about 0.3 per cent - amount to Rs.30 in all. From Patna onwards, he was not charged for precious stones as he had already paid for them at Agra and Patna.[4]

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1. EF, 1618-21, pp. 269-70. The amount Rs. 200 seems to be an error; it should have been Rs.20.

2. Ledger, p.170.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid. Hovhannes records that he paid for calico, indigo and "kessoor" of Patna. He paid rupees 74.05 and 16.25 at Donti, Gnkhanpur and Hajipur respectively. About Amber he writes: "I have paid no tax for the amber." The reason for not paying for amber was that he had already been charged for that at Agra and Patna as stated earlier and not that he had hidden his jewels at these places as suggested by Levon Khachikian.

Hovhannes gives a more detailed account of the customs charged from him for the goods he brought from Nepal. The total value of the goods brought was Rs.22,198. The charges paid at Patna were as follows:

1. "Hassil"(a)[1] for the grass (tea ?) brought, 3.5 percent tax amounting to 745.3 rupees in all; (b) for "Saghadbari", 1.25 per cent (31.5 rupees in all).
2. "Mootassadi" (Mutasaddī)[2] duty - 12 rupees (.054%).[3]
3. "Tafildar" (tahwīldar)[4] - 3.35 rupees (.015%).
4. "Mashrouf"[5] (Mushrif) 15.5 rupees (.069%).
5. "Emiana"[6](charges for amīn) 15.5 rupees (.069%).

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1. Ibid., p.171. The amount paid by him starts with 'Hassil', which suggests that under the first point he gives the amount deposited in the treasury. Again this is divided into two (a) grass (tea?), the tax realised on this is Rs. 745.3. The rate given for this is 3.5%, that would mean that the total value of grass (?) was Rs. 21,285, a major part of total cost of goods brought (Rs.22,198). It is difficult to ascertain what he actually means by grass. (b) 'Saghadbari' is difficult to ascertain what it actually means because 1.25 per cent of the total amount of goods is nowhere around the total mentioned here(Rs.31.5). It is not possible at present to give any explanation for this.
2. Charges for Mutasaddī.
3. I have calculated this percentage on the total value of goods brought by Hovhannes (Rs. 22,198).
4. Charges made for Tahwīldār.
5. Charges made for Mushrif (Accountant/auditor).
6. "Eminana" was a charge for the amīn posted at customs house.

6. "Daroogh" (dāroghā)[1], 11 rupees (.049%).
7. "Dakhil Khazana"[2] (Surcharge?) 0.55 per cent tax; in all 4.56 rupees.
8. "Nivsanda"[3] (charge for the scribe) - 6.75 rupees (.03%).
9. "Dalal" (dallal-broker)[4] - 44 rupees (.198%).

Thus, for goods worth Rs. 22,198 that Hovhannes brought to India, he had to pay Rs. 889.46 as tax-which comes to 4% of the cost price of goods imported.[5]

The references made by foreign travellers or merchants to the tolls or duties in between the custom-houses were

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1. This was a charge for the dārgohā or incharge of the customs-house.
2. It seems that this was the surcharge on the total payment made into treasury. Huvhannes mentions 0.55 per cent of the total deposits in the treasury (total of Ist charges 745.3 + 31.5 = 776.8) comes to around Rs.4.56 charged in all.
3. "Navisanda" was the fees for the scribe.
4. In the case of broker it is uncertain whether he was the official broker of the State or some independent broker engaged by Hovhannes to help in settling the customs. Hovhannes's inclusion of this payment under the charges paid at the customs suggests that he was perhaps a broker working for the state.
5. The net amount of Rs. 889.46 has been calculated on the basis of total payments made by Hovhannes.

not customs in the actual sense. They were, in fact, a charge collected as rāhdarī. These were generally minor charges, the proceeds of which went into the guarding of roads.[1]

Jiziya was yet another charge which the non-Muslims were supposed to pay during the reign of Aurangzeb since its imposition in 1679-80. Hovhannes had to pay the jiziya on the very first day of his arrival at Surat.[2] He has made several entries recording the payment of jiziya during his stay in India (1682-93). At two places the cost of jiziya came to 3.5 rupees, but in 1688 Hovhannes paid Rs. 9 for himself and his servant which means Rs. 4.5 per capita.[3]

The customs charges and other commercial taxes were generally fixed by the Imperial authority but at times the governors and jāgīrdārs also levied additional taxes on

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1. A.K.M.Farooque, op.cit., p. 190. These were sometimes as low as 2 pice (Marshall, p.73); also Manrique Vol.II, p. 136).

2. Ledger, p.172.

3. Ibid., Jiziya was charged annually and its rate differed from person to person according to his status. According to one document the minimum was Rs.3 as, 2 per annum (cf. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, pp. 245-46).

merchandise passing through their territories,[1] though these were not approved by the central government.

Chieftains also imposed duties on the goods passing through their territories. These chieftains, as suggested by Irfan Habib, were free to levy cesses and duties on trade passing through their regions at rates fixed by themselves.[2] But the imperial government certainly checked these chieftains from imposing higher duties and asked them to desist from charging illegal cesses. Shahjahan's farmān addressed to a local Raja in Bihar is indicative of the fact that the grievances of the merchants from distant places were not only conveyed to the throne but actions, too, followed. It was reported to the Emperor in 1630 by the waqi'ānavīs (reporter) that the Raja was exacting illegal sums from the merchants coming from Bengal

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1. Mundy in 1632 writes about Abdullah Khan, the governor of Bihar "Hee hath imposed new customs both inwards and out wards, that never were soe much as poor women that see milke upp and down streets he makes them pay custome for it. (Peter Mundy, Travels, Vol.II; p.161).

2. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System, p. 185.

3. ~~Firman preserved in the Bihar State Archives, Patna Basta No.69, Purnea. The name of the Raja is illegible.~~

and Orissa, and was realising from them Rs. one per load of merchandise and Rs. 300 for a boat for one manzil (stage). The Emperor issued orders to put a stop to this practice with the warning that he would be punished if such actions were repeated.[1]

Apart from these exactions, there were other burdens, too: the state officials, both high and low, asked heavy sums as bribe from the merchants to clear their goods.[2]

The English and Dutch Companies from time to time had to approach higher authorities to get orders for conducting their trade smoothly without any coercion by the state officials. The English Company was granted privileges by Shahjahan in 1638, followed by the grant of Prince Shuja' in 1652 or 1656.[3] In the orders, the officers were repeatedly asked not to molest the merchants. In 1662, Aurangzeb also issued a farmān for maintaining privileges of the Dutch in the Bay. The farmān was addressed to all the officers

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1. Farmān preserved in the Bihar State Archives, Patna Basta No.69, Purnea. The name of the Raja is illegible.

2. In 1632, Mundy was forced to pay heavy sums in bribe to Abdullah Khan, the governor of Bihar. (Mundy, II, op.cit., p. 145).

3. Wilson, p.48. For Shuja's nishān, see, Stewart, History of the Bengal, Appendix II, p.538.

in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa directing them to let the Dutch ships cometo the ports of Hugli and Pipli and "whatsoever manufactures, cotton or silk, sugar, salpetre, silk raw or wrought, bees wax or any other goods whatever they shall buy in those three provinces (Bengal, Bihar and Orissa) and carry to the port towns that noe men may molest them and that watchman, customer or any other of those under officers may force any thing from them on account of goods soe proceeding, nor take any custome or toll on them, but that they may be protected from all such exactions and that they may be suffered to put their ships to see out of any port belonging to those three provinces."[1]

Administrative interference in the saltpetre trade was extensive from all sections of Mughal administration. Many attempts, though not pursued vigorously or systematically, were made by the local officials to monopolise the trade. Saltpetre trade was the main target; even the petty officials found in it a sure means of getting illegal sums.

In 1654, the supply of saltpetre was stopped at Patna and Ahmadabad and the English officials had to approach the Emperor for its release.[2]

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1. Master, II, pp. 26-27.

2. EF, 1651-54, p. 252.

In 1664, soon after joining as governor of Bengal, Shaista Khan issued a parwāna directing all the officers concerned not to stop the saltpetre boats of the English on any pretext from Patna to Balasore and that the officers should not demand any thing from them.[1] It seems that since the officers in Bihar were not following the instructions of Shaista Khan, 'Aqeedat Khan, the nāzim of Patna, issued in 1665 another parwāna asking his officers to provide all facilities to the English and not to stop them from bringing goods from Akbarnagar, Bengal, Orissa, Hugli, etc., and taking saltpetre, etc. from Patna to the above mentioned places.[2]

But the English coped with the problem by expensive gifts and peshkash to Shaista Khan who was brought to a favourable term by the English factors. As a result, he issued a very detailed parwāna in 1672 in favour of the English Company.[3]

'Aqeedat Khan, the nāzim of Patna, in the same year issued a parwāna confirming the above-mentioned orders of

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1. Farmans, Nishans and Parwanas, op.cit., No.14.
2. Farmans, Nishans and Parwanas, op.cit., No.16.
3. Ibid., No. 20.

Shaista Khan.[1] In spite of all these parwānas, the English factors were tormented by the officers in Bihar. Waris Khan, the nāzim of Bihar, wrote a letter to Shaista Khan asking about the privileges to be granted to the English. To this, Shaista Khan replied in 1676; "You ought not to trouble or impede their trade on accompt of paying custome which is released to them etc."[2]

But neither the parwāna of Shaista Khan nor his oft-quoted letter to Waris Khan, the nāzim of Bihar, could eliminate the interference of the Bihar officials in saltpetre trade. In 1679, a fleet of 31 boats containing 29,890 maunds of saltpetre belonging to the English Company was detained at Patna, and the dīwān demanded Rs. 500 from the English. Meanwhile, a new dīwān came along, but the situation remained unaltered as the new diwan placed fresh demands.[3] The dīwān also encouraged the boatmen who were asking Rs. 5,500 as demurrage because of the delay.[4] Finally, the saltpetre could be released only on the payment of Rs.700 to the diwan and Rs. 200 to the Mīrbahr (harbour master).[5]

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1. Ibid., No.21. Here the year is given 1081 A.H.(1670 AD), but the regnal year is mentioned as 15th. The year 1081 AH seems to be the copyist's error.
2. Master, II,p.24.
3. Master, I, p.109.
4. Ibid., II, pp. 274-75.
5. Ibid., I, p.114; Ibid., II, pp. 292, 298-99.

Around 1704, the English faced the same problem when Prince Azimush Shan stopped the English and the Dutch to trade unless expensive gifts were given to him.[1] The English decided to suspend their trade temporarily till they saw what the Dutch would do.[2] However, in 1706 the English Company on hearing the news of the coming of four French ships to purchase saltpetre, sent costly presents to placate the Prince and started working.[3] The administrative interference never stopped and the story of the Patna factory under all the governors was almost the same; a long series of extortions by the governor's officers with or without his connivance. Sometimes on the smallest pretext, they would seal up the Company's ware-houses and refuse to allow it to be opened till large sums of money had been paid.[4]

Besides occasional attempts by governors to disrupt commercial activities, especially of the English Company, the main problem was the regular interference and harassment of the merchants by the local officials. Sometimes, the

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1. Wilson, I, pp. 232-33.
2. Ibid., p. 233.
3. Ray, op.cit., p. 118.
4. Ibid., pp. 74-75.

saltpetre boats, laden and ready to depart, would be detained on one plea or another. Often these boats would be seized and detained by a dārogha or faujdār through whose jurisdiction they passed, and would not be on their way again till some bribe was paid.[1] As early as 1654, the English factors in the Bay wrote: "It is better to spend money thus than to bribe the local officials who are never satisfied."[2] Again, in 1679, the English factors from Patna reported: "Here is noe order or Government. Every petty officer makes a prey of us and abusing us at pleasure to screw us what they can out of us."[3]

Even the minor functionaries at custom houses and other departments received gifts from the merchants.[4]

Some times, the production for the market was disturbed due to government's interference. Mundy in 1632

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1. Ray, op.cit., pp. 74-75.

2. EF, 1651-54, p. 252.

3. Master, II, pp. 274-75.

4. In 1683, the English factors at Patna gave spectacles as gift to the dārogha of the custom house, his two subordinates, munshi of the governor of Patna, amīn, diwan, subordinate of dīwān and mutasaddī of dīwān (see A.Jan Qaisar, India Response to European Technology and Culture, p. 75).

reported from Patna that it was difficult to procure cloth because most of the weavers were engaged by the governor for preparing fine quality cloth for the royal seraglio.[1] Perhaps the governor had advanced the money to the weavers and asked them to stop the supply to the merchants. It seems that the royal supply from Gujarat was hampered due to famine there.

Merchants had to incur expenses on engaging guards to act as escorts over routes which were considered unsafe. In the account books of the English Company, there are entries for such expenses incurred for protecting saltpetre boats on their way from Patna factory.[2] The Armenian merchant, Hovhannes, had to engage 12 mounted guards to pass through the dangerous road between Erajwari and Batnai in Bihar on the Patna-Nepal route.[3] In 1713, the English factors evolved a new method whereby they spread the rumour about their goods going to Patna as present to the king so that the goods may reach safely.[4] It seems that at times the

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1. Mundy, II, pp. 150-51.

2. See C.R.Wilson, Vol.II, pt.I, pp.141-42, 225. For example in 1713 Rs. 241-7-3 were spent on protecting the boats carrying 13,000 maunds of saltpetre (Ibid., p.142).

3. The Ledger, p. 162.

4. Wilson, II, pt. I, p. 125.

merchants faced problems of security in their establishments. In 1711, chapra was plundered by a rebel and the English factors suffered a loss of 500 maunds of saltpetre.[1] This would indicate that it was not possible for the Mughal administration to provide total security; the traders had to make their own arrangements.

To sum up, the Mughal Empire's policy towards the development of trade and commerce was constructive which is evident from their concern in numerous orders. The real, problem, however, was the translation of their 'good' intentions into practice. Indeed, it was here that the agents of the Empire, high and low, often betrayed the trust reposed in them. Nevertheless, the Emperor at times did take remedial steps through issuing farmāns trying to impress upon his officials that their irregular acts have been conveyed to him and, therefore, they should strive to conform to what the Empire considered to be proper and regular. They were unable to effectively check the officials who were patronised by big jāgīrdārs. This higher bureaucracy benefitted most from the exactions taken from the merchants and, at the same time they extended their commercial activities.

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1. Wilson, II, pt. I, pp. 14-15.

CHAPTER XII

TOWNS

Contemporary sources establish the fact of a reasonable degree of urbanization in India between 1200 and 1700 A.D.; infact, most of our modern towns came into existence, especially in North India, during the above period.

It is very difficult to define a medieval town on account of variations in size and population. However, broadly speaking, the town generally was a human settlement bigger in area than a village, having developed crafts, established markets and some administrative set-up. Like every town in other parts of the world, a medieval town in India, too, was a non-agricultural production centre, dependent on its hinterland of villages for provisions and raw material.

The revenue system of the Sultanate and Mughal period created conditions favourable for the rise of towns. During the rule of the Delhi Sultans (1200-1526), revenue resources were distributed among the ruling class in the form of territorial assignments known as iqtā'. As the members of these ruling classes were subject to periodic transfers, they did not have permanent interest in their iqta'; moreover,

the nobles were normally accustomed to living in towns. These two facts generated a strong tendency among nobles to convert the revenues into cash which, in turn, gave rise to a considerable degree of trade between the village and the town.[1] As pointed out by Irfan Habib, "The immense drain of substantial part of rural produce to the towns in the form of revenue of iqtā'-holders helped to create large town population. Town crafts also grew."

Similar was the condition under the Mughals; nay, the Mughal period saw a further intensification of the trend towards urbanisation. While there were many factors which contributed towards the expansion of the urban sector in the economy during this period, the chief of these lay in the enormous increase in the revenue drawn from the agricultural sector. The larger part of this revenue was concentrated in the hands of a small ruling class, comprising the sovereign and the jāgīrdārs. According to one estimate in Shahjahan's reign, 445 mansabdārs cornered 61.5% of the total assessed revenue of the empire and out of these 445 nobles, 25 shared amongst themselves 24.2% of the jama'.[2]

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1. Irfan Habib, 'Distribution of Landed Property in Pre-British India', Enquiry, N.S.II, (3) Winter, 1965, Delhi, p.53.

2. See A.Jan Qaisar, 'Distribution of the Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire Among the nobility', PIHC, 27th session, 1965, Allahabad, 237-243.

As during the Sultanate period, the jāgīrdārs were essentially an urban-based class, subject to periodic transfers. Thus, the incentive to collect revenue in cash was great which, in turn, created market for both agricultural and non-agricultural produce, further strengthening the cash-nexus between the village and the town.[1] Therefore, it is not surprising that the sūba of Bihar, too, went through the strong wave of urbanisation during this period.

However, the spatial distribution of towns within the sūba was very uneven. As noted above, since the land-revenue had a close link with the development of towns, the distribution of jama' in the sūba would be a good indicator of the pattern of urbanization. We have already shown in the section on population distribution,[2] that the regions showing higher incidence of revenue had denser population. This urbanised region covered the northern belt of the river Ganges as well as the northern parts of the sarkārs of Bihar, Shahabad and Rohtas. The contemporary Persian chronicles

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1. Irfan Habib, 'Potentialities of Capitalist Development in the Economy, of Mughal India', Enquiry, Winter, 1971, p.42.

2. Chapter I.

and the European accounts also testify to the presence of a number of towns in this region. The relatively inaccessible portions of sarkār Bihar (or the Chotanagpur platean) had sparse settlements. The former region, as our geographical study shows, lies below the attitude of 150 metres and at present is inhabited by 80% of the population of Bihar. During the Mughal period, the proportion would have been still higher because the plateau region's urbanization and population growth is a modern phenomenon and is a result of large scale mining. It should be noted that the urbanised region stated above during Akbar's reign contributed 95% of the total jama', while the Chotangpur plateau's share was only 5%.

We may adopt the following classification of towns in Bihar:

(a) Towns on land and river routes, which developed as centres of commercial exchange of commodities.

(b) Administrative headquarters and garrisons.

(c) Religious centres

(d) Towns which specialised in some specific craft or trade

Needless to say, such a classification simply emphasises the origin of a particular town; therefore, such classifications should not be treated as watertight since many towns, once established, performed a variety of functions

simultaneously. Nonetheless, our classification at least reflects what medieval perception of towns might have been with the stress on the most pronounced character of medieval towns. At any rate, the sustenance and growth of a town depended largely on the multifarious activities it could perform.

There were two land-routes from Banaras to Patna, the one passed through Ghazipur and the other through Sahasram. The former ran parallel and close to the river Ganges, while the latter ran parallel and close to the river Son. The route from Patna to Rajmahal also ran in a straight line below the Ganges. As a result, there were towns which were touched by both the land and river routes. The European travellers mention a number of such towns along the Agra-Patna[1] and Patna-Rajamahal route.[2] Again, our foreign travellers visited a number of places on the Patna-Nepal route.[3] The towns located along the land-route were probably the highest in number. Sometimes, townships developed around a road-side sarāi. There are still a number of towns in Bihar with the suffix sarāi whereas in

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1. Cf. Mundy, II, pp. 78-134; Tavernier, I, pp.113-121. Also Marshal, pp. 159-60.

2. Marshall, pp. 111-127.

3. Marshall, p.161; The Ledger of Hovhannes, pp.159,161-62.

some cases the suffix was dropped. The more important of them were Begam Sarai (Begu Sarai)[1], Lakhi sarai, "Saraiya" Aurangabad)[2], Rani Sarai[3], Makhdum Sarai[4], Laharia Sarai, etc.[5] Custom-houses or check posts very often developed into small towns such as Baha Chauki, Dellagola[6] and Fatuha.[7] Burhangangal on the border of Bihar and Bengal owed its importance to a big custom-house there.[8]

The rivers were of great commercial importance because they provided speedy and cheap mode of transport. The Ganges in Bihar was perhaps the busiest river in the Mughal India conveying a good deal of goods from Bihar to Bengal.[9] In addition, rivers also supplied water for the

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1. Marshall, p.414.

2. Buchanan, Shahabad, p.105; Q.Ahmad, Inscriptions, pp. 382-83.

3. Marshall, p.77.

4. Buchanan, Bihar-Patna, II, map at the end for a number of such place names.

5. Laharia Sarai was a small distance away from the town of Darbhanga. In due course, a small township developed around it and, at present, the two places have merged as twin cities.

6. Marshall, pp. 72-73, 90n.

7. Marshal, p.77.

8. Marshall, pp. 72, 118.

9. Fitch accompanied a fleet of one hundred and forty boats with diverse kinds of merchandise from Agra to Satgaon via Allahabad & Patna (see Early Travels ed. Foster,

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requirement of towns. A 16th century chronicle describes the development of the town of Patna. In the mid-sixteenth century, it says, Patna was a small place on the bank of the Ganges. A short distance away was the administrative centre of Bihar which lent its name to the sūba. While returning from a compaign of Bengal in 1541, Sher Shah noticed that Patna was extremely favourably situated on the bank of the Ganges, the sūba's most x navigable river. Sher Shah decided to build a fortress there and to make Patna as Bihar's administrative centre.[1] Soon Patna emerged as one of the most important commercial centre in the Eastern India. Fitch, in 1585-86, described it as a great town,[2] while the town of Bihar, which was away from the major trade-route, soon lost its importance as a major commercial centre. Similarly, Chapra, which was described as a big village in mid 17th century (where the Dutch had established a saltpetre refining centre)[3], saw a number of European commercial centres springing up, and it became a

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pp. 18-26). The flow of traffic was so heavy that it took Manrique nine days to secure custom clearance at Rajmahal which had six toll posts, (Manrique, Travels, II, p.135).

1. Abdullah, Tārīkh-i-Dāūdi in History of India, ed. tr. Elliot & Dowson, Vol.IV, pp. 477-78.

2. Foster, Early Travels, pp. 23-24.

3. Tavernier, I, p.122.

substantial town by the 18th century.[1] Chapra's situation on the Ganges was favourable for the trade of saltpetre going in bulk to Bengal for export. A few of the important "river and land-route towns" on the Patna-Rajmahal route were Punpun, Fatuha, Baikanthpur Barh, Mor, Dariyapur, Dumka, Kalyanpur, Munger, Bhagalpur, Pirpainti, etc.[2] Along the Banaras-Patna route towns like Sahasram, Khurramabad, Dandnagar, Arwal and Naubatpur grew up.[3] Similarly the Patna-Kathmandu route was also dotted a with a few towns, such as, Singhia, Lalganj, Muzaffarpur, Mehsi, Motihari etc.[4]

There were many towns which became important due to their becoming administrative headquarter. Here, again, the location on the frequented routes was preferred because the jāgīrdārs and state officials preferred to stay at the

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1. L.S.S.O. Malley, Saran, pp. 131-34.

2. Marshal, pp.72-74, 76-77, 95,120,122-23,125-26, EF, 1618-21, p.197; Manrique, II, p.138; Tavernier, I, pp. 123-28.

3. Mundy, II, pp. 122-25, 162-73, Tavernier, I,pp. 119-21.

4. Marshall, pp. 161, 166; "The Ledger of Hovhannes", pp. 159,161-62 Muzaffarpur described as a town established in the 18th century by Husker (Vol.13, pp. 51-52) seems incorrect because Marshall and Havhannes (pp. 161-62) mention it.

place which connected provincial or imperial capital to make communication and transport convenient. The sūba and the sarkār headquarters flourished because of the elaborate establishment of the officials and the flow of cash in the form of land-revenue. Crafts also grew due to the demand of luxury goods for the aristocracy. Patna and a number of sarkār headquarters during the Mughal period continued to flourish as populous towns, as can be established from the census of 1872.[1]

No.	sūba/sarkār	Headquarters in 1555-96	Population 1872
1.	sūba of Bihar	Patna	1,58,900
2.	sarkār of Bihar	Bihar	44,295
3.	sarkār of Munger	Munger	59,698
4.	sarkār of Tirhut	Darbhanga	53,744
5.	sarkār of Hajipur	Hajipur	22,306
6.	sarkār of Rohtas[2]	Rohtas	Not listed as town.

Note: For the sarkārs of Saran and Champaran no headquarter have been given in the Ain.

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1. Census figures have been taken from the Census of India 1911, Vol.V, pt.III, where comparative figures for the towns from 1872 to 1911 have been given (pp.14-15).

2. Rohtas, a garrison town during the Mughal period, is not included in the list of towns. Perhaps the abolition of the garrison caused its desertion and Sasaram, the present headquarters of the district Rohtas, gained importance.

Even the pargana headquarters, having high revenue figures, developed into towns, such as Arrah, Sahasram, Bhagalpur, Gaya etc.

Rohtas and Munger were the main garrison towns.[1] The former was deserted when the garrison was shifted from there, while the latter, going through many ups and downs, could survive because it was again made garrison (in the 18th century) for the provinces of Bengal and Bihar by Mir Qasim; but it again declined in importance after the establishment of the English Company's rule.

Among the centres of pilgrimage, Gaya was the most important one visited by lakhs of pilgrims. Besides, it also had a flourishing trade in semi-precious and other stones[2] and related crafts of religious significance.[3] Though it showed a low revenue return at the time of the compilation of the Āīn, in the early 18th century it had a very high revenue return[4], and in the first census of 1872 its population

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1. For garrison towns, see S.M.Karimi, 'Late Medieval Towns of Bihar Plain, 12th century A.D. to mid 18th century)", JBRS, 1970, LV) pts. 1-4, pp. 172-190.

2. Ain, p.417; Sujan Rai, p.45.

3. See Chapter on Crafts and Industries (supra).

4. The jama' was 74,270 dāms in 1595-96 (Āīn,p.419) while in 1712-19 it was 22,00,000 dāms (kāghazāt, Add.6586,

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was recorded as 66,843, the second most populous town of the province after Patna.[1] Similarly, Maner owned its importance to it being a famous religious centre and the seat of a number of Muslim sūfi saints.[2]

Bihar had several towns which were famous for some specific craft. Lakhawar was famous for the production of cotton cloth.[3] Similarly, Nandanpur, Salimpur and Baikanthpur were also centres of cloth roduction.[4] Chapra because important due to saltpetre production. Arwal was famous for its paper manufacture.[5]

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f.99. It seems that at the time of the compilation of the Āīn, the revenue-figures for Gaya were incomplete.

1. Census of India, 1911, Vol.V,pt.III, pp.14-15.

2. It also had a high revenue figure, being 70,49,179,dāms in 1595-96 and 95,85,164 dāms in 1712-19 (Āīn,p.419; Add 6586,f.99). For a number of Muslim religious structures in the 16th & 17th centuries, such as mosque, and shrines, see Q.Ahmad, Inscriptions, pp.162-63, 182-84, 214-15; Buchanan, Bihar & Patna, I,pp.85-87; Ancient Monuments, pp. 238-43.

3. EF, 1618-21, pp.192, 210; Mundy, II, pp.154-55.

4. Mundy, II, pp.154-55.

5. Buchanan, Bihar & Patna, II,pp. 623-25; Abul Fazl and Sujan Rai both refer to paper manufacture in the sarkar of Bihar of which Arwal was a pargana (Āīn, p. 417; Sujan Rai, p.45).

It was a common practice among the members of the royal family and nobles to develop new townships under their patronage. Jahangir had given instructions to develop small towns (qasba) for curbing lawlessness and making the routes safe.[1]

The town of Daudnagar (modern Aurangabad District) is an interesting example of how sometimes a town used to be established. It was founded by Daud Khan some time after the victory of Palamau in 1662 when he was given a jāgīr in the area. He founded the town by constructing a fortified sarāi and making it the headquarter of his jagir.[2] It appears that the place was selected because it lay on the Banaras-Patna route (via Sahasram). This part of the route passed through thick forest and therefore it was considered unsafe for travellers.[3] Tavernier (1665-66) is the first European traveller who refers to Daudnagar sarāi.[4] Daud Khan's son, Ahmad Khan, also constructed a sarāi a little distance away,

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1. Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī, p.4; For the towns as centres of curbing lawlessness, see K.N.Chaudhri, "Some Reflections on the Town and Country in Mughal India", Modern Asian Studies, 12,I, (1978), p.86.

2. Syed Zamiruddin, 'Daud Khan Quraishi, Governor of Bihar and Founder of Daudnagar", JBORS, Vol.IV,pt.III,1918, pp. 292-93.

3. 'Ālamgīrnāma, pp. 866,877; Syed Zamiruddin, 'Daud Khan', op.cit., pp. 292-93.

4. Tavernier, I, p.121.

where a market (ganj) also developed and the locality was called Ahmad Ganj.[1] Thus, the town developed as twin cities. Daud Khan is said to have brought weavers from outside and the weaving industry, especially carpet weaving, thrived.[2] The patronage extended to crafts and its favourable situation on the main route was responsible for its further development as an urban centre. Later, the British established cloth and opium factories there.[3] Buchanan in 1810-11 estimated that the twin cities (Daudnagar and Ahmadganj) contained 8000 houses.[4] However, the opening of the Son canal and the steamer traffic caused its decline.[5]

The town of Khurramabad was also founded much in the same way. Lying on a favourable site on the Banaras-Patna route (modern Grands Trunk), one Ali Akbar, a relative of

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1. Buchanan, Bihar & Patna, I,pp.252-53; Ancient Monuments, pp.334-35. Buchanan in his journal refers to Daud Khan's son as Hamid Khan and the locality as Hamid Ganj (Patna-Gaya Journal, pp.161-62).

2. N.G.Mukherjee, Monograph on Carpet Weaving, op.cit.,pp. 1-2. Carpet and other weaving industries flourished as late as the 19th century (see Ancient Monuments, pp. 334-35).

3. Buchanan, Bihar and Patna, I, p.253.

4. Ibid., p. 252.

5. Ancient Monuments, pp.334-35. In 1872 it had a population of 10,058 which declined further in 1881 (see Census of India, V, pt.III, 1911, pp.14-15).

Nawab Safdar Khan (a prominent jāgīrdār of Bihar), established and named it after Prince Khurram. First a bridge and a small fort were built in 1612-13. When the bridge placed it on the main route, a big sarāi and public bath (hammam) were constructed in 1614-15. The construction of a mosque followed in 1618.[1] Mundy passed this town in 1632 and described it as a town supplied with all necessaries.[2] Tavernier en route to Patna in 1665-66 also stayed at the sarāi.[3] During a recent survey by Dr.Q.Ahmad, besides the above mentioned structures, at least 20 masonary wells and a number of other structures were discovered.[4] It was also noticed that the bridge had given way long back. The Grand Trunk road was diverted to the north and this was the reason for its eventual decline.[5] The town is now a small village. The town of Shamshernagar (near Daudnagar) with a sarāi and a market was established by one noble Shamsher Khan (alias Zabardast Khan) who was the governor of Bihar in 1702.[6]

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1. Q.Ahmad, Inscriptions, pp. 208-11.
2. Travels,II, p. 129.
3. Tavernier, I, p.120.
4. Q.Ahmad, Inscriptions, pp. 210-11.
5. Ibid., p. 210.
6. Buchanan, Patna-Gaya Journal, p.162. Also see Q.Ahmad, Inscriptions, p.273.

Patna boasted of a lay out similar to other major towns of the Mughal India.[1] One side of the town was flanked by the Ganges, and the other three sides by the walls of fortification.[2] It had many well guarded gates by security men.[3] The town had two forts, one of brick and another of mud.[4] The main fort was the residence of the provincial governor and hence the centre of political activity in the sūba. The town had a number of religious structures such as mosques, tombs and madarsas, and many secular structures as well, including a number of sarāis.[5] Saif Khan's sarāi was considered by Mundy as the biggest sarāi in India, with numerous rooms and ware houses for the merchants.[6] The place was used by the merchants coming from other countries

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1. For the lay-out of the Mughal towns, see Gravin R.G. Hambly, "Towns and cities of Mughal India", Cambridge Economic History of India, I, ed. Chaudhuri & Habib, pp. 434-51.

2. Latif, Travels tr. J.N. Sarkar p.599. Buchanan also refers to town walls (Bihar and Patna, I, p.58).

3. Bowrey, p.225.

4. Āīn, p.418. De Graaf (1670-71) also refers to a large large and fortified castle, cf. Bowrey, pp.2214-222n. Buchanan however found the palace in ruins (Bihar & Patna, I, p.71).

5. Q. Ahmad, records as many as 56 inscriptions belonging to the Mughal period from Patna city (Inscriptions, p.393).

6. Travels, II, p.159.

such as the Persians and the Armenians.[1] One source, (1682-94) however, refers to a separate halting place for the Armenians.[2] The town spread from west to east mostly lengthwise along the river Ganges. The main street was intersected from both sides and was full of shops. Besides this main market, a number of other markets were scattered throughout the town.[3] The town had suburbs beyond the city walls. The aristocracy had their sprawling gardens and country-houses in the suburbs, the most famous being the Jafar Khan's garden on the eastern side of Patna. Munger and Hajipur also had such gardens on the outskirts.[4] The walls of most of the houses in Patna were of mud, and the roofs were covered with earthen tiles (Khaprail).[5] The town had narrow

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1. Ibid. Could it be the place in Patna where the duties of the Kotwāl as described by Abul Fazl was to make arrangements for strangers to stay at a separate place? (See Āīn, pp. 284-85).

2. The Ledger of Hovhannes, pp. 160-61.

3. Mundy describes it as having a very long bazar and the biggest mart of the region (Travels, II, p.157); Bowrey, pp.221n-222n. Buchanan also says that throughout the length the lower storeys of most of the houses were given for shops (See Bihar and Patna, I, p.58). The plan of the city of Patna is given in the map at the end of the Vol.II.

4. Marshall, pp.75,79,92n;126 Buchanan's plan of Patna also shows a number of gardens on the eastern and western suburbs (Bihar and Patna, II, map at the end).

5. Āīn, p.416; Sujan Rai, p.45. Buchanan gives the details of houses in Patna as follows. Total 52,000, brick-7187, two storeyed mud walls, with tiled roofs 22,188, and the remainder thatched (Bihar and Patna, I, p.60).

congested lanes, devoid of any urban planning. Buchanan complains of a number of towns in Bihar having narrow lanes and dirty surroundings.

Our source material is not sufficient to ascertain the exact size and population of the different towns in Bihar. The only account is from the European travellers who usually compared Indian towns to their own in size and population. Tavernier describes Patna to be not less than two kos (4 miles) in length.[1] Manrique estimated the population of Patna around 2,00,000 in 1640-41.[2] Marshall does not give any estimate of the population of Patna, but the description of the famine of Patna (1670-71) provided by him may be of some help. He estimated that from October 1670 to June 1671 around, 1,50,000 people fled from the town.[3] The number of the dead, according to the kotwāl's office in Patna and the suburbs, was 1,03,000 (50,000 Muslims and 53,000 Hindus). By a more accurate estimate, the number of dead was 90,720 (18114 Muslims and 72,576 Hindus).[4] On

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1. Tavernier, Travels, pp. 121-22.
2. Manrique, II, p.140.
3. Marshall, Travels, p. 150.
4. Ibid., p. 152.

the basis of these estimates, the population may be safely assumed to have been between 2-3 lakhs.

It is very difficult to find out the composition of population in the towns. Moreland divides the population into two groups viz., producing and consuming classes.[1] In our sources we come across four broad groups of urban population:

(a) Nobles and their retainers, officials and troops etc.;

(b) Persons pursuing mercantile activities; merchants, sarrāfs, brokers etc.;

(c) People involved with religious establishments, intelligentia, physicians, etc.;

(d) Artisans, menials and daily - wagers.

Perhaps the largest group was the first category. Manucci informs us that there were 7,000 soldiers stationed at Patna.[2] The establishment of the nobles was very large. When Prince Parvez reached Patna as the governor of Bihar in 1620-21; a number of merchants and residents were evicted to make room for his retinue.[3] Merchants, shop-keepers,

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1 . W.H.Moreland, India at the Death of Akbar, pp.26-28.

2 . Manucci, II, p.83.

3 . EF, 1618-21, pp.256 Even the English merchants were evicted by force.

sarrāfs and brokers must have also formed substantial population. For Patna it was reported in 1640 that there were 600 brokers and middlemen.[1] Mundy in 1632 noted that there were more than 200 grocers or druggists in Patna.[2] Latif in 1606 wrote about merchants that in no other city of India could be seen so many men of Iraq and Khurasan, as had taken up their residence there (Patna).[3] Hughes in 1620 wrote from Patna that 'Mogals' and 'Preychas' were there "like bees."[4] The Persian and Armenian merchants were also in great numbers.[5] Many merchants from the hilly countries of Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan and Lhasa frequented this place. Among the Europeans, the Portuguese, English, Dutch and French came for trading. The persons involved in religious institutions and intelligentia, who were mostly dependent on the states' munificence, preferred to stay in towns.[6] The

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1. Manrique, II, p.141.

2. Travels, II, p.157.

3. Travels, tr. J.N.Sarkar, p.599.

4. EF, 1618-21, p.195 (Preychas = merchants from Western India).

5. Mundy, II, p.159.

6. For the concentration of large madad-i ma'āsh grants in and around the towns, see the Chapter on Revenue Grants (supra).

large demand of goods created by big town population attracted all sorts of artisans who formed a substantial segment of the urban population.

Towns in the Mughal India as well as in Bihar were not stable in size and importance. We notice several large towns diminishing in size and small towns getting bigger. When the administrative headquarter was shifted from a particular place, it automatically resulted in the shifting of the administrative staff, too. There would no longer be any demand for town crafts and luxury articles required by the elite. As pointed out by chicherov: "When a town did not become an organic part of a region's economy but was merely the residence of a feudal lord or the place his army was stationed, it declined when the feudal authority left it."[1] Latif in 1608 described Munger as a big town, but there was a great fall in population when the garrison stationed there for effective conquest of Bengal was removed.[2] The town again shot into prominence when Prince Shuja' made it his headquarter in 1650's.[3] We have already pointed out how the

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1. A.I.Chicherov, India Economic Development 16th-18th Centuries, p.138.

2. Travels, p.600.

3. De Graaf in 1670 referred to it as a big town having many markets (cf. Oldham, 'Monghyr Fort', BPP, Vol. XXVIII, pt.II,No.54, 1924, pp.159-60), Also Marshall, pp. 75-78.

displacement of the garrison at Rohtas and the change of the sarkār headquarters led to its decline.[1] Bernier's oft-quoted statement about the Mughal towns being garrison[2] seems to be applicable to the towns like Rohtas and Munger having no economic structure of their own.

The decline of specific crafts or commercial activities also contributed to the ruin of towns. Baikanthpur, a centre of cloth production in the 17th century was found by Buchanan to be full of weavers but in a state of decay.[3] The reason lay in the dwindling demand of cloth from there. The same fate overtook Lakhawar, once a famous centre of cloth production.

Alternative routes and the changes in the course of rivers sealed the fate of many towns in Bihar. The town of Khurramabad decayed when its contact with the Grand Trunk Road was severed due to the change in route.[4] Bhojpur was thrown to a new site when the Ganges changed its course.[5]

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1. Buchanan found the fort and market in a state of decay in 1812-13 (see Shahabad Report, pp.48-70).

2. Bernier, Travels, pp. 245-46.

3. Bihar & Patna, I, p.75.

4. Q.Ahmad, Inscriptions, p.210.

5. Buchanan, Journal of Shahabad, p.17.

The town of Singhia fell in complete oblivion due to the change in the course of the river Gandak.[1] A number of towns noticed by Marshall between Surajgarh and Mokameh disappeared with the change in the courses of the Ganges.[2]

The towns played a very important role in the economy of Bihar. They were the focal points of commercial activities. The urban-rural linkage in terms of trade and industry is the most characteristic feature of the medieval Indian economy. It has been stressed that the towns were generally parasitic in nature, drawing their sustenance from rural areas and not furnishing any thing in return.[3] The towns got their food supply from the villages surrounding them and the collection of land revenue in cash made the villages sell their produce on the markets in the towns. The list of the mahāls in sarkār Bihar for early 18th century shows many mahāls which were not separate administrative units (pargana) but in all probability were constituted for revenue purpose for example, Mandvi Begampur and Mandvi Sultanpur/Sultanganj (probably all in Patna).[4] The latter

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1. Upendra Thakur, 'Mithila under the Khandalvalas', JBRS, XLVIII, pt. 1-4, 1961, p.88.

2. Travels, pp. 76-77, & 91n.

3. K.N.Chaudhuri 'Some Reflections on the Town and Country in Mughal India', op.cit., pp. 77-96.

4. Kāghazāt Add. 6586, ff. 99a-99b, 146a-146b.

had five mandvis showing an estimated income of one karor dāms.[1] Apart from food grains, villages supplied raw material for town crafts, such as cotton for weaving, cocoons for silk, iron and other metal ores and dyes. Even the workmen in the towns came from the rural areas. The bigger towns had flourishing market for the luxury items used by the ruling classes. However, the information for the flow of commodities from towns to rural areas is negligible, because the accounts of the European travellers, merchants and others are mainly directed to the availability of the finished goods of the towns. But the study of the economic structure of the period gives us some idea on this aspect. The larger towns had very little direct trade relations with the villages, but the link was indirect nevertheless. The smaller towns or qasbas (whose number in the empire of Akbar was said to be 3,200[2]), and the innumerable weekly hāts or penths played a prominent role as a link in the urban-rural trade. The trade of cotton cloth at Lakhewar, a small town a few miles away from Patna, provides a good example.[3] The English factors reported from Patna:

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1. Ibid., For the same names of mandvis and gunges, see Buchanan, Bihar and Patna, II, map at the end.

2. Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī, III, pp.54-46.

3. EF, 1618-21, p.192.

"The usuall custome of buying the amberty calicoes at Lackaw (which is the the penth or fayr for that commodityes, and is a town 14 course from this place) is as follows: they are dalye brought in from the neighbouring gunges by the weavers, from whom they are bought rawe ----- In this manner, by reports dalye may there be bought 50, 60 and some days 100 peeces. Almost in the like nature are these sould here in Pattana, being likewise brought thence by weavers."

The theory of towns being a 'central place', most accessible to the areas around,[1] seems applicable to some towns of Bihar. Towns like Patna attracted commodities from a number of satellite smaller towns around; silk cloth from Baikanthpur, cotton cloth from Lakhawar, Nundunpur and Salimpur.[2] From Patna, the commodities were sent to the different parts of the country, and abroad.[3] The products of large towns like Patna would have also been dispersed in the same manner. As pointed out earlier, the surplus of land-revenue triggered the demand for luxury goods in the

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1. M.Mayer 'A Survey of Urban Geography', The Study of Urbanization, ed. P.M. Hamier and L.F. Schnore, New York, 1965, p.89.
2. Mundy, II, p.155; EF, 1618-21, p.192.
3. For extensive trading activities through Patna, see the Chapter on Trade and Commerce (supra).

towns. Similarly, the beneficiaries of the surplus revenue in the rural areas, such as the zamīndārs, muqaddams, and other small village officials who stayed in the country-side, would also have generated demand for the goods produced or available in the towns, e.g. good cloths, jewellery fine metalic utensils, etc. Another important item in demand would have been arms and fire arms for the rural aristocracy and their armed retainers.[1] Horses for the troops of the zamīndārs must have also been required. Admittedly, the flow of goods was predominantly towards towns because the larger share of surplus-revenue fled to towns, yet the demand for town crafts from the rural areas was not altogether missing.

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1. The number of the armed retainers of the zamīndārs of Bihar in 1595-96 was, Infantry=4,49350 and Cavalry= 11,415 (see Ā'īn, pp. 417-23).

APPENDIX 'I'

In the following table, we list the towns of the sūba of Bihar. Besides the places mentioned as towns by the chronicles, European travellers, etc. evidences for a number of the towns in the list have been drawn from the existing monuments, architectural remains and inscriptions dating back to 15th - 17th centuries.

LIST OF TOWNS

Name		References
Patna	...	Fitch, 24; Tavernier,I,121; Mundy,159.
Bhagalpur	...	Marshall, p.121,Q.Ahmad, 268,268,284-85, AM, 420-21.
Gaya	...	QA, 211-12, Ain, 416-17,
Munger	...	QA, 177-78, 241-42, 262-63, 268-71, 277-78,286-87,298-99; AM, 410-11; Marshall, p. 75; Latif, 600; Tavernier, I, 124.
Arrah	...	AM, 344-45, Tabqat, II,490.
Bihar	...	QA, 122-23,143-47, 150-54, 172-73, 188-89, 285-86, 238-40,442-44, 256-60, 275-77; AM, 256-40.
Sasaram	...	QA, 141-42, 194.95, 232-34; AM, 364-71, Marshall, 160, Mundy, 130; Tavernier, I, 122, Latif, 598.
Hajipur	...	QA, 169-72, 263-65; AM, 396-97; Marshall, 78-79, 157-59.
Daud Nagar	...	AM 334-35; Tavernier, 122; Buchanan, BR, 605-07.
Barh	....	Marshal, 95,125,128, QA, 221-22.
Lalganj	...	QA, 309-11; AM, 406-07.
Kahalgaon	...	QA, 96-97; Marshall,120.
Khurramabad	...	QA, 208-11; Mundy, 127, Tavernier, I, 120.
Chainpur	...	AM, 372-73.

Rohtas	...	QA, 134-35, 164-65, 235-37; AM, 362-64; Latif, 598; Mundy, 134.
Aurangabad (Saraiya)	...	QA 382-83.
Ahsmsher Nagar	...	AM, 332-34.
Siris	...	QA, 265-67.
Kharaghpur	...	QA, 252-53, 278-80, 299-300.
Pirpainti	...	Marshall, 72,96; AM, 424-25.
Palamau	...	Kuraishi, 197-200.
Maner	...	QA, 162-63, 182-84, 214-15, 294-95; AM, 238-43; Buchanan, BP, 85-87.
Hilsa	...	QA, 131-33, 181-83; AM, 276-77.
Telhara	...	AM, 272-73.
Pun Pun	...	EF, 1655-60, 408-09; Marshall,77.
Naubatpur	...	Mundy, 130, Marshall, 160.
Jahanabad	...	EI, I, 455; Marshall, 78-79,160.
Lakhawar	...	EF, 1618-21, 192,204,213; Mundy 154-55.
Surajgarh	...	Marshal, 76.
Dariapur	...	Marshall, 76
Mokameh	...	Marshall, 77
Mar	...	Marshall, 77
Ranisarai	...	Marshall, 77
Fatuha	...	Marshall, 77; ~~Buchanan~~.
Singhia	...	Marshall, 78-79.

Muzaffarpur	...	Hovhannas, 162, Marshall, 358.
Begampur	...	Marshall, 414.
Baikanthpur	...	Mundy, 155; Tavernier, I,123.

Abbreviations used:

Q.A. - Q.Ahmad, Corpus of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions in Bihar.

AM - Ancient Monuments in Bengal.

Buchnan - Bihar & Patna, Report and Shahabad Report.

EF - English Factories

EI - Eastern India, ed. M.Martin.

Kuraishi- W.H.Kuraishi, List of Protected Monuments &c.

Latif - 'Travels' in Bihar, 1608 A.D.'.

Appendix - A

WEIGHTS, MEASURES, CURRENCY AND PRICES

(i) Weights and Measures

A number of weights and measures were used in India during the period under study. Many changes in these scales were made from Akbar to Aurangzeb. The standard measures issued by the court were quite quickly followed in all the regions of the Mughal India. However, the old measures did not altogether disappear.

(a) Weights

The standard Indian scale of weights for bulk 40 *sers* = 1 *man* was used almost throughout the Mughal Empire.[1]

During Akbar's reign, the *ser* was equal to 18 or 22 *dams* in the beginning but was raised to 28-30 *dams* some time before the compilation of the *Ain*.[2] In 1620, the English factor, Hughes, reported from Patna that for the weighing of silk, the unit used there was the 'seer' of 33½ pice[3]

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1. Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System*, Appendix 'B', p.367.
2. *Ibid*.
3. *EF*, 1618-21, pp. 193-94.

(or dāms) or 34½ pice[1] (or dāms), while Mundy in 1632 wrote from Patna that "The weight (heere) is 37 piece to a sere and 40 sere to 1 Maund (50 lb)".[2]

From both the cases cited above, it seems that there were small regional variations as against the standard weights issued by the Court for the period. In Hughes's period, Jahangiri, and in Mundy's time Shahjahani weights should have been prevalent which were 36 dāms and 40 dāms to a ser respectively.[3]

In 1659, the English factors found the man equal to 75 lbs,[4] while Marshall noticed that "At Pattana the Maund is 40 seer or 78 pound, besides the custome of place is to allow 2 seer in every maund".[5] But Marshall himself refers elsewhere that the 'maund' was equal to 80 lb.[6] These variations were due to the use of different weights for different commodities.

Keeping in view the fluctuations in the weights, the English Company at Fort William decided in 1740 to adjust the factory weight at $74\frac{2}{3}$ lbs.[7]

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1. EF, 1618-21, pp. 205, 213.
2. Mundy, II, p.156.
3. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p.368.
4. EF, 1655-60, p. 285.
5. Marshall, p.419. Also see Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p.372 & n.
6. Marshall, pp.127, 149, 413.
7. Cf. Wilson, I, p.245.

The weights of precious stones were expressed in rattis, misqáls and tolas. For example, diamonds at Soumelpour were weighed by rattis, the ratti was 7/8th of a carat or 3½ grains.[1]

Special units of weight were used for certain commodities: for example, the ser for amber, ambergris, musk, coral, rhubeb and other drugs was equal to 9 ounces.[2] Hughes reports in 1621 that the ser used for amber beeds was of 14 pice[3] and Marshall found the ser of 16 pice for musk.[4]

Merchants from Tipperah (whom Tavernier met at Patna and Dacca) had entirely different scales which they carried with them for use. Tavernier writes: "When they bought any thing they made their calculations with small stones resembling agates and of the size of finger nails, upon which there were figures. The each had scales made like steel yards. The arms were not of iron but of kind of wood hard as brasil, and the ring which held the weights, when put in the arm to mark the livers, was a strong loop of silk. By this means they weighed from a dram upto 10 of our livers".[5]

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1. Tavernier, II, pp.89-90.
2. Ibid., p.266.
3. IA, 1914, p.77.
4. Marshall, p.163.
5. Tavernier, II, pp.273-74.

(b) Measures

The measure of length prevailing in north and east India was known as gaz. The gaz, like ser and man, varied greatly in different parts at different times. Akbar standardised it in his Ilāhi gaz, which according to Abul Fazl, was equal to 41 angushts or finger-breadth.[1] The length of the Ilāhi gaz worked out by Irfan Habib is 32 to 32.25 inches.[2]

In 1620-21, Hughes wrote from Patna about 'elahye of Agra' as 4/5th of the 'Janger coved'.[3] The length of 'Jahangiri coved' is also mentioned by Hughes as 40 and 40½ inches at two places;[4] that would make the Ilāhi gaz equal to 32 to 32.4 inches long, but Hughes himself hints that it was 32-1/8 inches.[5]

Mundy in 1632 speaks about measures of Patna: "The coved here is 1⅓ of Agra, and 5 coveds of Agra make 4 English yards, soe that this coved is nearest hand (as neare as possible) 1 yard 2 inches".[6] Taking the English yard at 36 inches, it would make coved of Agra as 28.8" and that of

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1. Āīn, p.296.
2. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p.362. For detailed discussion on Ilāhi gaz, see Ibid., pp.356-62.
3. EF, 1618-21, p.192.
4. Ibid., pp.197, 236.
5. Ibid., p.236. Also see, Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p. 357.
6. Mundy, II, p.156.

Patna as 38.8". The Patna yard mentioned here is slightly less than the 'jahangiri' mentioned hy Hughes.

Marshall (1668-72) refers to the three types of measures prevalent at Patna: "The measure by which English cloth is sold is a Guz (gaz) which is $41\frac{3}{4}$ English inches. Here is also a little Guz which is but 32-1/8 inches, the carpenters $31\frac{3}{4}$ inches; the carpets Guz, 35 inches".[1] Marshall also refers to 'Shaujahauns Guz' called the 'Mulmull Guz', of 41¼ English inches and 'Eckbur Guz' called the 'Taylors Guz' of 31⅛ inches.[2] From the description of Marshall, it is clear that the yard used for the English cloth and 'Shaujahauns Guz' were variants of Jehāngīrī guz. Similarly, little guz (31⅛") Carpentres ($31\frac{3}{4}$ ") and Eckburguz or 'Taylors guz' (31⅛") were variants of the Ilāhi gaz. These variations were accordingly used in different trades.

(ii) Currency & Prices

(a) Currency

The currency system in Mughal India was one of 'free coinage', that it, it was open to any one to take bullion to the mint and get it converted into specie.[3]

1. Marshall, p.420.

2. Ibid., p.420.

3. Irfan Habib, 'The Currency System of the Mughal Empire (1556-1707)', Medieval India Quarterly, vol.4, 1961, p.1.

Mints were established throughout the Mughal dominions. Even prior to the period of our study, there were mints in Bihar: for example, the one at Tirhut (Tughlaqpur) where copper coins were minted in the 14th century.[1] During Sher Shah's reign, Sasaram or Shergarh was the mint-town where coins of silver and copper were minted.[2] When Akbar in the 16th century organised this currency system, a mint was established at Patna. This mint struck coins of silver and copper.[3] The Patna mint was the most important one in the whole eastern region: it issued far more coins than the mints of Bengal produced together, and till 1655 it was the largest mint of this region.[4] In the decade, 1617-26, the issues of Patna mint reached its peak and then started declining.[5] It seems that after the first quarter of the 17th century, commercial activities of Bihar were largely conducted through the Bengal ports making Rajmahal, Qasimbazar, Hugli, Ballasore and Dacca more prominent. As we have shown, most of the cash money for investment at Patna was sent from Qasimbazar; Rajmahal

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1. H.N. Wright, Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta, II, pp. 60, 274.

2. Ibid., pp. 89-90. 103-105, 273.

3. Ain, p. 27.

4. Aziza Hasan, 'Mints of the Mughal Empire', PIHC, 1967, vol. I, pp. 327, 330.

5. Ibid, p.327 and Table 'A', pp.336-37, Table 'B', pp.342-43 and Table 'D', pp.346-47.

and other mints of Bengal got prominence after 1660. In 1676, out of 14 chests of silver and one chest of gold, 11 chests of silver and one chest of gold were sent to Rajmahal, while Patna was provided with only 3 chests of silver.[1] Moreover, the English and the Dutch companies with other bigger merchants and brokers were having their head-offices in Bengal and all transactions were made there and cash money was remitted to Patna. As a result, we find that in spite of brisk commercial activities, the issues of the Patna mint dwindled. The treasure sent by the English Company to its factories in the Bay shows how little was allotted to Patna. In 1681, out of the total treasure of £ 2,30,500 sent to Bengal, only £ 14,500 was sent to Patna.[2] In the same way, in 1682 out of a total of £ 120,840, Patna got £ 7,601 only.[3]

For all commercial purposes, the coin used in transactions was silver rupee or rupaiya. Its standard weight as stated in the Ā'īn was 11½ māshas[4] or 178 grains. Jahangir raised the weight of the rupee by 20 per cent and by the 4th regnal year raised it again by 25 per cent known as sawāi, which was soon abandoned.[5] Henceforth, no substantial change

1. Master, I, p.382.
2. S. Chaudhuri, p.56.
3. Ibid., p.213.
4. Ain, p.26.
5. Cf. Irfan Habib, 'Currency System', op.cit., p.2.

was made in weight of the rupee.

Marshall refers to four kinds of rupees, viz. the sicca (sikka), 'charriarry' (chāryāri), Shau Jahan (Shah Jahan) and Illahee (Ilāhi).[1] The sikka was the newly coined rupee and was worth more than other rupees minted earlier.

The value of other rupees depreciated due to loss of weight by wear and tear of the coin. One hundred sikka rupees, according to Marshall, was worth 104 of 'charriary', 105 of 'Shau Jahan' and 106 of 'Ilahee' rupees.[2]

Another silver coin which was current in the Bengal region was āṇa, which was 1/16th of a rupee.[3] We find its use in Bihar as early as in 1620.[4] Marshall describes the āṇa in the 'coins of Patna':"There are also coynes of silver, 1 Ānna or 1/16 Rupees, 2 Ānna or 1/8 Rupees, 4 Ānna or 1/4 Rupees, 8 Anna or 1/2 rupees".[5] Marshall gives its weight as 11 grains troy which is exactly 1/16th of the weight of the extant rupee of Aurangzeb (180 gr. troy).[6]

1. Marshall, p.418.
2. Ibid.
3. Irfan Habib, 'Currency System', p.7.
4. EF, 1618-21, pp. 194, 204.
5. Marshall, p.417.
6. Ibid., p.418. of Irfan Habib, 'Currency System', p.7 & n.

The copper coin in common use was dām or pice. Its weight as stated in the Āīn was 20-7/8 māshas and was the fortieth part of a rupee.[1] Its weight remained unchanged for a long time but the scarcity of copper compelled Aurangzeb to issue a new dām which was one-third lighter than the old.[2] This was first issued in 1663-64, while in Bihar its use was just spreading in 1671.[3] A popular scale for copper money is given by the contemporaries, the smallest unit of which was dām. While three dāms made a damri, 8 damris a paisa and 2 paisas a tanka or taka, 25 dams were supposed to equal one paisa and 50 one tanka.[4] The Āīn's dām was actually the paisa of the popular scale and we find European travellers referring to it as pice.[5]

In 1671, Marshall gives the rates of the 'pice' to the rupee at various places in Bihar as 28, 26, 28, 33½ and 33.[6] At Patna, he values the rupee at 30 pice.[7] It seems that

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1. Āīn, p. 27. cf. Irfan Habib, 'Currency System', p.10.
2. Irfan Habib, 'Currency System', p.10.
3. Marshall, pp.416-17; cf. Irfan Habib, 'Currency System', p.10.
4. Marshall, p.416. cf. Irfan Habib, 'Currency System', pp.11-12. We find the use of taka in Bihar as early as 1620. See EF, 1618-21, p.256.
5. Irfan Habib, 'Currency System', p.12.
6. Marshall, pp.118, 121, 122, 125, 126.
7. Ibid., p.416.

the pice Marshall had in mind was identical with the old dām. According to Irfan Habib, if Marshall is right it would mean that the copper-price of the rupee had doubled itself almost within a year, without forcing itself to the notice directly of Marshall or any of his contemporaries.[1] Copper price of the rupee at the end of the 17th-century was about half, or a little less, of what it had been at the time of the Ā'īn.[2]

The uncoined money used for small transactions in Bihar was cowrie, and 80 cowries were equal to 1 pice in 1670-71.[3]

(b) Prices

Prices of all commodities fluctuated during the period under review (1580s-1707). It is very difficult to trace any definite trend in the movement of prices due to paucity of information. The prices of a number of articles are mentioned in the Ā'īn but those might not be applicable to all parts of India. However, they may help us in forming some idea of the prices and also in comparing the prices in different regions. Even the prices of saltpetre, the most sought after commodity, are not available in any regular order in Bihar. Price

1. Irfan Habib, 'Currency System', p.20.

2. Ibid., p.20.

3. Marshall, p.416. Also see, Chaudhary, Mithila in the age of Vidyapati, p.203.

fluctuations are reported due to the scarcity or abundance of commodities. The phenomena was not confined to one region alone, but the supply of commodity from distant places also affected the price. For example, the high price of opium in Bihar in 1661 was ascribed to the scarcity of opium in Gujarat.[1]

Bihar was famous for the cheapness of provisions.[2] Some general remarks regarding the low prices of provisions have been made by the contemporary observers. Abdul Latif, who travelled through Bihar in 1608, noted: "All kinds of articles needed by men for food and clothing are twice or thrice as cheap and abundant here as in other places".[3]

For the price of saltpetre, very few references are available from Bihar. However, Susil Chaudhuri has assembled the prices of saltpetre from 1663 to 1720 in Bengal.[4] This data, prepared with the help of a number of English and Dutch records, may give us an idea of the prices of saltpetre for Bihar as well. Bihar was the main source of supply of this commodity and fluctuations in its prices in Bihar would have affected the prices in Bengal too.

1. Wilson, I, p.378.

2. See Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p.84.

3. tr. J.N. Sarkar, "Travels in Bihar, 1608 A.D.", JBORS, 1919, p.599.

4. S. Chaudhuri, pp.253-54.

The price of saltpetre at Patna in 1650 was Re.1 per maund while freight and custom raised the price of $1\frac{3}{4}$ per maund at Hugli.[1] The price in 1659-60 was Rs. 1⅛ per maund;[2] while in 1679 the price of saltpetre at Patna was 2.2 per maund.[3] Its price fluctuated throughout the period, sometimes due to administrative interference or because of short supply or due to a fall in demand. Its price from Re. 1 at Patna (or $1\frac{3}{4}$ at Hugli) in 1650[4] rose to Rs. 5.75 per maund at Calcutta in 1753-54.[5]

The price of saltpetre from 1663-64 to 1719-20 is given below:[6]

Year	Price (in rupees per md)
1663-64	3
1664-65	3
1668-69	2.3
1669-70	2.5
1670-71	2.5
1671-72	3.2
1675-76	2.5
1676-77	4.3

1. EF, 1646-50, p.377.
2. EF, 1655-60, p.285; S. Chaudhuri, pp.167-68. The price at other places was much higher. In 1660's the price of saltpetre was reported 7 mahmudis per md (cf. Tavernier,II, p.12).
3. Master, II, p.322, Here 29891 mds. 29 ser of saltpetere was valued at 65,791 rupees.
4. EF, 1646-50, p.337.
5. Datta, Bengal Subah, I, 1740-70, p.382.
6. S. Chaudhuri, pp.253-54.

Year	Price (in rupees per md.)
1678-79	4.1
1681-82	2.2
1682-83	1.6
1683-84	1.9
1684-85	2.3
1685-86	2.2
1690-91	2.0
1692-93	2.8
1693-94	2.5
1694-95	3.5
1695-96	3.2
1696-97	3.0
1697-98	3.4
1698-99	3.2
1699-1700	3.2
1700-01	4.3
1701-02	4.8
1702-03	4.7
1704-05	4.7
1705-06	5.3
1711-12	4.8
1712-13	6.0
1713-14	4.3
1714-15	4.3
1715-16	4.4

Year	Price (in rupees per md.)
1716-17	4.2
1717-18	4.4
1718-19	5.2
1719-20	5.0

For other commodities, the prices given in the contemporary records are listed below:

Food Crops[1]

Commodity	Price	Year	Source
Rice	Rs.2 per md.	1660's	Tavernier, II,266.
"	Rs.1.28 per md.[2]	1693	Hovhannes, p.167.
Wheat[3]	Re. ½ "	1659	Irfan Habib, p.84.
Flour	Rs. .039 per ser[4]	1693	Hovhannes, p.167.
Cash Crops			
Opium[5]	Rs. 50-60 per md.	1658	Wilson, I, 378.
"	Rs.80-100 "	1661	Wilson, I, 378.
"	Rs. 1.6-1.75 per ser	1670-71	Marshall, 414.
Chinese sugar	Rs.13.5 per md.[6]	1688-93	Hovhannes, p.168.

1. For food crops, prices given by Marshall are not normal as these refer to the period of famine, pp.125-27, 149-51.
2. Translator of the work Khachikian gives the maund or litre = 25.5 kg. In the value of silver two prices are given .48 gm & .58 gm of silver per kg.
3. Ā'īn, p.60. Its price at the time of Āīn was 12 dam.
4. 1 kg of flour in .69 gm of silver (rupee = 11.33 gm).
5. Wilson quotes Ken's notes of 1661. The difference in prices between 1656 and 1661 has been ascribed to the scarcity of the commodity in Gujarat.
6. Half litre was purchased for Rs.6.75 (litre = 25.5 kg).

Textiles

Ambertee Calicoes of 3 sorts

(i) 'Rasseya'	Rs. 2 per piece	1620	EF, 1618-21, p.213.
(ii) 'Zefferconys'	Rs. 2-6 "	1620	-do-
(iii) Jehangeris	Rs. 3-12 "	1620	-do-
Sahan[1]	Rs. 3.9 "	1621	IA, 1914, p.108.
Taffetos	Rs. 4-5 "	1661	Wilson, p.377.
'Baragaza' (cotton cloth from Lakhaur)	Rs. 2.5 per length	1688-93	Hovhannes, p.163.
Biharikhasa[2] (cotton cloth)	Rs.1.75 "	"	" p.164.
Chapla (cotton cloth)	Rs. 3 "	"	" p.164
Emrati (Ambartee)	Rs.2.08 "	"	" p.164
Lakhauri	Rs.2.5 per length	"	" p.165-66.
Baikanthpur Ellachaes	Rs.10, 12, or 16 per courge	1620	EF, 1618-21, p.197.
Serabandy silk	Rs.70-80 per md.	1621	IA, 1914, p.100.
Silk (raw)[3]	Rs.85-90 "	1650	EF, 1646-50, p.337.
-do-	Rs.90-100 "	1659	EF, 1655-60, p.276.

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1. Cf. Āīn, p.109. where its price is given 1 Muhr to 3 Muhr (Rs.9 to Rs.27) per piece. It seems that this was some expensive cloth different from the above mentioned one and was in all probability for royal consumption.

2. The Āīn refers to it as expensive cotton cloth priced at Rs. 3 to 15 muhrs, p.108.

3. In 1622-23, the price of silk at Agra was Rs.5¼ which was 15% more than Patna (Patna, 4.56 per ser), EF,1622-23, pp.9-10. Pelsaert in 1623 found the price of the best silk around 110 to 120 rupees per md. of 150 lb. (Jahangir's India, pp.7-8).

Hughes mentioned 4 sorts of silk with different prices.

(i) Shikasta (7th sort)	14½, 16 anas per ser	1620	IA, 1914, p.74.
(ii) Katwai (6th sort)	24 anas per ser	"	IA, 1914, p.74.
(iii) Gird (Ist sort)	73 " "	"	IA, 1914, p.74.
(iv) 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th sort	68 " "	"	IA, 1914, p.74.
Sleeve Silk	Rs.4 per ser (33½ pice)	1620	IA, 1914, p.81.
Stammel (woolen cloth from England)	Rs. 12 per yard	1632	Mundy, 149-50.

Metals

Copper	Rs.34-42 or 50 per md.	1669	EF, 1668-69, p.311.
Tin[1]	Rs.38 per md.	1620	IA, 1914, p.72.
"	Rs.1 per ser (Rs.38-40 per md)	1632	Mundy, 154.
"	Rs.22-26 per md.	1669	EF, 1668-69, p.311.
Lead	Rs. 9 per md.	1620	IA, 1914, p.72.
"	Rs.9.52 per md. (Rs.952 for 100 md)	1679	Mater, II, p.354.
Quicksilver	Rs.3½ to 4⅛ per ser	1620	IA, 1914, pp.72, 77.

1. The price of tin in 1620 and 1632 was almost constant but in 1669 there was a remarkable fall perhaps due to large imports.

Quicksilver	Rs.3½ per ser[1]	1632	Mundy, 149, 153.
Silver thread	Rs. 1-1 per tola of 11 mace	1661	Wilson, I, 379.
Gold thread	Rs.2-2 per tola of 11 maca	1661	Wilson, I, 379.

Spices

Pepper[2]	Rs. 24 per md.	1632	Mundy, p.154.
Nuttmegs	Rs. 4 per ser	1632	Mundy, 153.
Mace	Rs. 16 per ser	1632	Mundy, 153.
Cloves[3]	Rs. 5½ per ser	1632	Mundy, 154.
Cardamum[4]	Rs.1¾ per ser	1632	Mundy, 154.

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1. Mundy says that the price of quicksilver falls daily in the market and it was 4-3/8 rupees per ser the day he reached there but could sell his for 3½ per ser (pp. 148-49). The fall was due to the large supply created by Mundy himself.

2. Ā'īn (p. 65) gives 16d. and 17d. per ser (Rs. 16 or 17 per md). The high prices in Bihar might have been due to the large demand from the Portuguese. Inflation of 1620's would also have affected (Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p.392).

3. Ā'īn, p.65. The price was 60d. per ser (Rs. 1½ per ser). The Portuguese trade and inflation of 1620's would have raised the prices.

4. Ā'īn, p.65, 52 d. per ser (Rs. 1-3/10).

Saffron[1]	Rs.16 per ser	1620	IA, 1914, p.72.
-do-(Kashmiri) -do-(Kishtwari)	Rs.10 per ser) Rs.16 per ser)	1632	Mundy, 154
-do-	Rs.25-30 per ser	1670-71	Marshall, p.413.
Dry Ginger[2]	Rs.10 per md.	1632	Mundy, 154.
-do-	Rs.2½ to 3 per md.	1650	EF,1646-50, p.338.
Turmerick	Rs.1 per 1½ md.	1661	Wilson, I, 379.

Other Commodities

Vermillon	Rs.3¾ per ser	1620	IA, 1914, p.72.
-do-	Rs.4-4 5/8 (ser of 37½ pice)	1632	Mundy, 148,149,153.
Amber beads	Rs.10 per ser (of 14 pice)	1620	IA, 1914, p.77.
Yellow Amber	Rs.35-40 per ser	1660's	Tavernier, II, p.266.
Musk	Rs.35-40 per ser (of 16 pice)	1661	Wilson, I, p.378.
Musk	Rs.49 per ser (of 16 pice)	1670-71	Marshall, 163.

1. It seems Hughes (1620) has mentioned Kishtwari variety of saffron which was brought from a place near Kashmir whereas Ā'īn, mentions its price as 400d. per ser (Rs.10) at one place (p.65) and Rs.8-12 per ser (here especially mentioning Kashmiri) at another (p.85). The prices by 1670-71 seem to have doubled (Marshall refers to prices of Kashmiri saffron).

2. There seems some error in Mundy's list as there is no reason for such a fall in prices from 1632 to 1650. Moreover, Ain gives the price of dry ginger as 4 dāms per ser (Rs.4 per md.) (Ā'īn, p.65).

Lignum aloe[1]	Rs.1-5/8 per ser (of 33 pice) and Rs.2-10 per ser (of 33 pice)	1620-21	EF, 1618-21, p.200 IA, 1914, p.105.
Olibanum	Rs.4 per ser	1679	Master, II, 275.
Mastick	Rs.8 per ser	1679	Master, II, 275.
Sugar	7½, 8 to 11-12 per bale	1650	EF, 1646-50, pp.337-38.
Elephant teeth	Rs.80 per md. of 40 ser	1620	IA, 1914, p.72.
"	Rs.55-60 per md. of 80 lb.	1670-71	Marshall, 413.
See morse (warlus) teeth	Rs.10 per ser of 37 pice	1620	IA, 1914, p.72.
Bulgar hydes	Rs.18 per pair	1620	IA, 1914, p.72.
Nausadar (Sal ammoniac)	Rs. 8 per md.	1632	Mundy, 154.
Butche (Orris-root)	Rs. 9 per md.	1632	Mundy, p.154.
Oxen	Rs. 4 to 5 per pair	1670-71	Marshall, p.377.
Tincall (Borax)	Rs.9 to 11 per md.	1661	Wilson, I, 379.
Saung[2] (Aniseed)	Around Rs.5 per md.	1688	Hovhannes, p.163.
Sheep[3]	Rs. .83 for one	c.1690	Hovhannes, p.168.

1. Āīn, p.85, gives its price as Rs.2 to 1 Muhr (one muhr was equal to 9 rupees) per ser.

2. Hovhannes sold 42 "litres" of saunf for 213 rupees.

3. Hovhannes bought 3 sheeps for 2.5 rupees.

There is practically no information about the wages of artisans and other skilled professionals. From the factory records, we get a few references about the earnings of some menial servants such as sweepers, boatman, peons, palanquin bearers, etc. These may be summarised as follows:

Washerman	Rs.2 per month	1713	Wilson,	II,	pt.I p.152.
Barber	Rs.2 Ānas 8 per month	"	"	"	"
Halalkhar (sweeper)	Rs.2 per month	"	"	"	"
Kahar (Palanquin bearer)	Rs. 3 per month	"	"	"	"
Peon	Rs.2 Annas 8 per month	"	"	"	"
lascar (sailors)	Rs.5 per month and in the river Rs.3 plus rice		Wilson,II,pt.I,p.1.		

Appendix B

SARĀ'IS IN BIHAR

S.NO.	Name	Situation	Source
1.	Sarai Sirsi	Banaras-Patna route	Mundy,II, p.124.
2.	Khajura Ca Sarai	" "	" pp.125, 172.
3.	Sawant ka Sarai	" "	" p.126.
4.	Khwaja ka Sarai	" "	" pp.128, 172.
5.	Aganur Sarai	" "	" pp.134, 165; Tavernier, I,p.121; Marshall, p.160.
6.	Saif Khan's Sarai	Patna	Mundy,II, p.159.
7.	Acktearéca Sarai (Ikhtiyar Khan)	Banaras-Patna route	" p.163.
8.	Muttraca Sarae	" "	" p.165.
9.	Arwal Ca Sarae	Arwal	" p.165; Tavernier,I, p.121.
10.	Mutta ca Sarae	Banaras-Patna	Mundy,II, p.165.
11.	Sadraza-ki Sarai (Saidraja)	" "	Tavernier,I, p.120; Marshall, p.160.
12.	Mohania-ki Sarai	" "	Tavernier,I, p.121; Marshall,p.160. Buchanan, Shahabad, p.132.
13.	Daud Nagar Sarai	Daudnagar	Tavernier,I,p.121; EI, I, p.107.
14.	Baikanthpur Sarai	Baikanthpur	Tavernier,I, p.123. Buchanan, Bihar-Patna,I, p.75.

1. In this list only those sarā'is have been included which appear in the 16th and 17th century sources, as halting places or as place names suggesting existence of sarā'is. For the location of these sarā'is see map No.2.

15. Dariapur Sarai	Dariapur	Tavernier, I, p.123.
16. Rani Sarai	Patna-Rajmahal Route	Marshall, pp.77, 126.
17. Bobbunear Sarai	" "	" p.119.
18. Dawlutka Sarai	" "	" p.119.
19. Garhi Sarai	" "	" p.119.
20. Pialpur Sarai	" "	" p.120.
21. Sultan ki Sarai	" "	" p.120.
22. Bhagalpur Sarai	Bhagalpur	" p.121.
23. Bohay Sarai	Bahachauki	" p.124.
24. Surajgarh Sarai	Surajgarh	" p.124.
25. Ney Sarai (Nabobganj)	Patna-Rajmahal	" p.125.
26. Barh Sarai	Barh	" p.125.
27. Asumlik Sarai (Athmagola)	Patna-Rajmahal	" p.126.
28. Ghamsurpur Sarai	" "	" p.126.
29. Sarai Hajipur	Hajipur	" p.128.
30. Sasaram Sarai	Sahasram	" p.160.
31. Makrain Sarai	Banaras-Patna	" p.160.
32. Vukeley Sarai	" "	" p.160.
33. Naubatpur Sarai	Naubatpur	" p.160.
34. Jahanabad Sarai	Benaras-Patna	" p.160; EI, I, 455; Buchanan, Shahabad, p.133.
35. Mendroo Sarai	Near Lakhawar	IA, 1914, p.110.
36. Mughlani Sarai	Nepal-Patna	Marshall, p.161.
37. Sundar ki Sarai	Butsulla	" p.161.
38. Begam Sarai	Begam Sarai	" p.414.
39. Burhjangal	Patna-Rajmahal	" pp.117-18.

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